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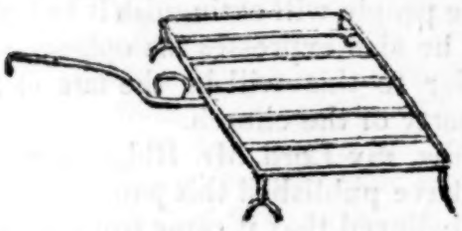

TO THE

READERS OF THE REGISTER.

THE PROSECUTION.

Kensington, 8th May, 1831.

MY FRIENDS,

YOU were apprised, about fifteen days ago, that the ATTORNEY-GENERAL had given me *notice of trial* on this prosecution, and that it was to come on before the Chief Justice, on the 11th, 12th, or 13th of this month; and you were also apprised, that I was prepared to meet this liberty-loving member for Nottingham. Last Friday, the 5th instant, I received another mandate, *countermanding* the former one. The trial does not, therefore, come on *now*; but, such is the power which the present system gives to this man, that he may send me *another mandate* to come and be tried *in June*; and then, if he choose, he may *countermand* that mandate! Mark, I pray you, his march in this affair. First, TREVOR sets to work, and the House of Commons spreads the calumny against me all over the country; next comes some pretty work not yet known to the public; next come reports that I had *absconded*, emanating from the House of Commons; next comes the *indictment*, presented at the *Old Bailey*, amongst a bundle of bills against *house-breakers* and *pick-pockets*, and in which bill this insolent fellow represents me as *a common London labourer!* This gross, this premeditated insult, is immediately followed by statements in all the infamous Government newspapers, that I am *sent to Newgate*. Having thus done all he could do in the hope of *degrading*, he next commands the case *to be taken away from the Old Bailey*; commands me to plead *in another court*, where he can command a *special jury* to try the case. He keeps me many days without letting me know whether he means to try me or not; he then issues his mandate for me to come and be tried on the 11th, 12th, or 13th of May; and on the 5th of May he issues another mandate to tell me that he will not have me tried then!—And this is *English law*, is it! However, there will be a time hereafter to talk of *this matter*. For the present I will trouble you with no more than this: 1. That I was ready, and am always ready, to meet this insulting Attorney-General, though he come against me charged with the unanimous malice of his masters: 2. That I will never retract one single syllable of the writing which he has so scandalously garbled and which he calls a libel. I said, from the beginning, that my defence should be such as to be worthy of the man on whose opinions so many thousands of sensible and virtuous persons placed reliance. Such it should have been, and such it shall be, if these malicious men revive their efforts to destroy me. They have not *abandoned*, observe: they keep their *menace* hanging over my head; and I keep my promise hanging over theirs.

WM. COBBETT.

TO

LORD GREY,

On the Rumoured Intention of putting off the Reform Bill until Next Year.

Kensington, 9th May, 1831.

MY LORD,

THE above-mentioned rumour has spread very widely, and is believed by a great number of persons. I cannot say that I am one of these; but, so certain am I of the perilous conse-

quences of such postponement, that I think it my duty to express my opinions upon the subject publicly, and I have chosen to do it in the form of a letter to you, from no other motive than that you are the chief Minister of the present day. I do, indeed, perceive, in the altered tone of your principal newspapers, the *Morning Chronicle*, the sanguinary *Old Times*, and the *Courier*, that there are great fears entertained by the patrons of those papers of the consequences of the measure which you have proposed to the Parliament. Besides these papers, I have had sent to me a pamphlet published by Mr. Ridgway of Piccadilly, entitled "*Pros and Cons on Lord John Russell's Bill*, by NO PARTY MAN." This pamphlet appears to me to have been written by some one of your own party. There are passages in it which would lead me to believe that it was written by one very intimately connected with the bill. In one of these passages, the author observes that this bill "is more important "than any measure which has been "agitated since the year 1688, *unless* "*we except the repeal of the Test Laws.*" The other passage gives us, as an instance of abandoned and profligate men having been favourites of the people, the rejection of Lord John Russell by the town of Bedford. I do not know that I am justified in drawing from these passages any very decided conclusion with regard to the author of the pamphlet; but, the absurd importance attributed to the repeal of the Test Laws, and the very bitter anger which is visible with regard to the people of the town of Bedford, are sufficient to justify a suspicion upon the subject.

However, let the author pass; and let us look at the matter of the pamphlet. The main drift of it is to produce an impression in the mind of the reader that a reform of the Parliament upon your plan must produce a revolution, if not total subversion of property; and, indeed, an extinction of the present form of Government. It concludes with observing that the parties blame each other, and that, between them, the sacrifice of the whole community would probably be the result. In the course of the pamphlet, the author observes, that the "fate of the "Debt is sealed; if the Government "will not extinguish it by fair means, "the people will extinguish it by foul;" and he also expresses his opinion, that similar to this will be the fate of the property of the church.

Now, my Lord, Mr. Ridgway would not have published this pamphlet if he had believed that it came from any one who was an enemy to the party of your Lordship. To be sure, the author might deceive him in this respect, though that is not at all likely. The internal evidence, however, is, that the pamphlet comes from one of your Lordship's own party; and my opinion is, that it expresses the opinions of a great portion of that party. At first, you could discover nothing but the humiliation of your opponents, in the success of this measure; you lost sight of the effects of Reform, in the eagerness to gratify your desire to triumph; you do not seem to have perceived, that, in calling in the people to your aid, you were enabling the people to make the changes which now appear so terrific to you. This writer quotes my words, where I say that this Reform is to be productive of consequences; that it is to be made because the Government cannot go on without it; that, if the Reform produce merely a change of men, it will be of no use whatever; that it will produce a very great change of another sort, and will thereby enable the Government to go on. Hence he founds his opinion, that the people will, by the means of this Reform, sweep away the debt, and confiscate the whole of the property of the Church. That the people should wish to do these two things, it is quite monstrous to suppose; but, such is the opinion of this writer; such, I believe, to be the opinion of the whole of your party, who belong to the aristocracy, though in the remotest degree; and this discovery has given them the alarm.

It was very proper to dissolve the Parliament; the King is entitled to great gratitude from us for this just and

wise act, and you for advising it. But, you do not appear to have expected the consequences that have resulted from it. The turning of KNATCHBULL out of Kent, of FLEMING and HEATHCOTE out of Hampshire, of COTTERELL out of Herefordshire, of CHAPLIN out of Lincolnshire, of GASCOYNE out of Liverpool, of PATTEN out of Lancashire: these signal marks of the resolution and power of the people; their undaunted conduct at Carlisle, at Rye, at Stamford, at Banbury; and, indeed, every-where where there was a possibility of their coming into action: these appear to have frightened you, and to have made you, or, at least, your party and your party writers, begin to tremble at the prospect of success, which, in fact, is the success of the people; and every man must see that it is not the mere name of Reform that they have been fighting for, but for what they expect that that Reform will produce. Their selection of new members has not been less terrific than their rejection of old ones. For this once, they have cast aside connexion, private character, local influence, habitual respect and attachment; they have cast every thing aside for the sake of obtaining some one to pledge himself in favour of Reform. In many cases they have taken men that they notoriously dislike. FLEMING, who has been cast aside in Hampshire, and who has given up, not from his own disinclination to stand the contest, but from the reports and supplications of his own committees; this FLEMING, who is opposed by two men coming from rotten boroughs, two men of no natural influence in the county; two men having scarcely any-thing in the county; two men laughed at by the far greater part of the people of the county, and one of them a *pensioner*; this FLEMING, in his parting address, tells the people that they are choosing one of those whose names stand on the pension list, and asks them whether that is consonant with their principles of Reform. Their answer is, "No: we do not choose him because he is a pensioner, we choose him because he pledges himself to vote for that Reform which will take the pension from him, and we reject you because you would make us still continue to pay him the pension."

Sir JAMES MACDONALD, who is an unpractising barrister, and has always been a Member for a rotten borough since he has been in Parliament, had not, I am sure, nor has he yet, I dare say, the smallest idea that one of the consequences of his success will be the loss of his pension, if he have one, as FLEMING says he has. Lose it, however, he certainly will, if this Reform take place; for never has he rendered any service to the country since he was born. He has never been in any office that I have heard of, and has done nothing to furnish the smallest pretence for our paying him a pension, unless having been the Member for a rotten borough; having been a representative of one of those holes for the disfranchisement of which he is now contending, entitles him to the receipt of a pension out of the public money. But, though Sir JAMES MACDONALD has had no thought of this in his mind, you cannot have overlooked it; and the whole of your party, who are endued with powers of reflection, now perceive that, in demanding, and fighting for, Parliamentary Reform, the people, with one accord, with one voice, are claiming and struggling for the following four things:—

1. (And first of all) For an abolition of Tithes.

2. For an abolition of the Assessed Taxes.

3. For an abolition of all the Taxes of Excise.

4. For a total alteration of the Game-Laws.

There are divers other things that come athwart their minds; but these are specific items; these are things which they talk of, which they petition for, and which they confidently expect, and I hope justly expect, that a reform will give them. They do not embarrass themselves with the question of how the Government will be able to go on without these taxes. They know that there will be enough left to support the throne in a state of great magnificence,

and to support a navy quite sufficient to maintain the power and honour of the country. They would despise the man that should talk to them of the necessity or the chance of continental wars; and, as to the debt, they leave that to be paid as it may. The author of the pamphlet abovementioned goes a great deal further than this; for he says that the people; that is to say, the reformers, expect the reformed Parliament to "compel persons who have "held sinecure places, and bought "estates, to sell those estates, and re-"pay into the coffers of the state the "amount which they have received out "of the taxes." This is going very far, to be sure, much farther than I have heard any one go in his expectations; but, certain it is, that the people do expect a great deal to be done by the new Parliament, in the way of easing them of their burdens.

Now, my Lord, it is the knowledge that your party have derived from the elections that has caused the alarm in that party: it is the knowledge which they have of these expectations of the people that have frightened them at the prospect of their own success in the carrying of this measure; and, therefore, they are beginning to halt; the newspapers are beginning to soften their tone; the battery of abuse of the "boroughmongers" has within these six days slackened its fire; we hear them complain of the violences of the people; the *Times* newspaper, which, ten days ago, called upon the people almost in so many words to knock the boroughmongers and their partisans on the head, now sings a new song; and, in short, the rumour is afloat that the *excitement ought to be allayed*, and that the people are to be taught not to expect that reform will give them so much as they have been anticipating. I have seen in these publications no positive recommendation to *postpone the passing of the bill until next year:* these publications cannot well turn so suddenly about; but, when duly prepared by a rumour to that effect, it is very possible that we shall have the direct recommendation; and that, too, from the very same papers which, ten days ago, recommended the refusal to pay taxes unless the Reform Bill were passed! In this state of things, and entertaining the opinion that it is possible for such a design to be in existence, I think it my duty to call upon your Lordship to look at the real state of the country, and to see the great danger which would immediately arise from a discovery, on the part of the people, that such a design was in your contemplation.

If your Lordship were not surrounded, as all Ministers are, either with men who know nothing of the state of this country, or who, knowing that state, have not the honesty to describe it to you, it would be unnecessary for me to tell you, that all persons in trade perceive that every-thing is at a stand; that they are daily and hourly sinking lower and lower in the scale of society; that they are firmly convinced that, without a great change, without a diminution of four-fifths of their burdens, they can never again be in the state in which they ought to be; that for a long time past, they have been balancing whether they shall openly associate to refuse the paying of taxes or not; that, at the opening of the last Parliament, many thousands upon thousands were ready to put in force that terrible mode of obtaining redress; and that this has been prevented solely, in the first place, by your promise to give them a reform of the Parliament, and, in the next place, by your having so far fulfilled that promise as to bring in a bill for that purpose.

There is a pamphlet, published by Innes, printer, No. 61, Wells street, Oxford street, London. The subject is, the state of the country in respect to the condition and conduct of the agricultural labourers. The object of the writer is to show that the labourers must be brought back to their potatoe-diet, or must be got out of the country in considerable part, or that parsons and landlords will be without tithes and rents; that then the tradesmen and journeymen who live by supplying them with luxuries, will be plunged into distress, and that their tradesmen will re-

fuse to pay taxes. One passage in this pamphlet is in the following words:— "*Men in business will not stand still looking on until all they possess has passed away from them: they will not, like the husbandry labourers, starve for a long time, and then commit outrages on the persons and property of others; they will take what to them will seem the shortest remedy, and endeavour to preserve their property and possessions; they will form themselves into a national guard, to protect one another, and give confidence to those from whom supplies must come; and they will declare a Government at the point of the bayonet, if such a course should to them appear necessary.* Many have been the proposals during the last thirty years to refuse paying taxes; but it was not until the autumn of last year, that men of wealth and influence promulgated such proposals: they are now, however, doing so *in several places*, and the notion has spread far and wide; and *steps have been taken by men of character and property towards forming associations for the purpose.* Soon after the opening of Parliament in October, a proposal was made by a gentleman, who at the present moment possesses greater influence amongst the people than any other man in the kingdom, to obtain the signatures of the housekeepers in the Metropolis *to a declaration*, that in the event of the then Ministers so conducting the Government as to make war seem inevitable, it would be proper to refuse paying taxes. Change of Ministers *suspended proceedings*; but it needs hardly be said, that the very contemplation of thus refusing to pay taxes by the householders, makes them familiar with the subject, and smooths the way to its adoption. It seems as clear as that like causes produce like effects, that the results pointed out will follow the proceedings of the husbandry labourers, *unless the causes can be removed.*"

This writer, in other parts of the pamphlet, distinctly asserts that the labourers can never be got back to potatoes, and that they cannot be got out of the country; so that his conclusion is, that the tradesmen must refuse to pay taxes; because, says he, the farmers will be protected by the labourers against paying tithes and rents! Now, this man is a great coxcomb, a great fool, seems to have been born and bred in some smoky hole in London; but here is a *publication*, at any rate, staring the Government in the face, and asserting that men of character and property are taking steps for forming associations for refusing to pay the taxes, while the pamphlet itself represents such steps as just and necessary: here is a pamphlet, published under the nose of your vigilant Attorney-general, predicting that men of property, in order to preserve their possessions, will "form themselves into "a *national guard to protect one another*, and to give confidence to those "from whom supplies must come; "and will declare a Government at the "point of the bayonet, if such course "should to them appear necessary." Nor is this merely a prediction. It is, in effect, a recommendation, also, to do these very things. If I had made a publication like this, would your Attorney-general have been asleep? would you yourself not have called me a "miscreant instigator"? If the author do not put his name, the printer does; and why is he to escape, while I am traduced and menaced with destruction. *A-propos* of libels, especially as connected with the agricultural labourers. The pamphlet which I mentioned before, as published by Mr. RIDGWAY, says: "I think it highly pro-"bable that the mass of the labour-"ing population might be *happier* un-"der a military Government without "a *debt*, than they are now under "what is *called a free Government*, "weighing them down to the very "dust by taxation." In another part of the same pamphlet, after saying that year after year the people in agriculture told their tale of suffering; that year after year the Government denied the existence of the distress, "the people

"indignantly *took their redress into* "*their own hands*, and set fire to ricks "all over the country." Compare this with any-thing that I have ever written upon the subject! Here is a justification even of the fires themselves; for here we are told that they were resorted to as the means of obtaining that redress which an unfeeling Government refused to their tale of woe, refused to their prayers and their supplications, refused to the cries of their starving wives and children. Yet your Attorney-general sleeps over this; this comes from the focus of Whiggism; this comes from Mr. Ridgway, who is the publisher of the Whigs; and therefore it has a license to pass free. God forbid that I should put forth an apology for the prosecuting of Mr. Ridgway, who has been prosecuted quite enough in his time! prosecuted, too, for being the instrument in the promulgation of opinions and principles such as those which are now advocated by the Government itself. Besides this, this passage in the pamphlet is *true:* it is a true description of the cause of the fires; but again I ask, what have I written which is a thousandth part so forcible as this with respect to the fires? The utmost that I have ever done is to plead the cause of the sufferers; to endeavour to obtain mercy for them; and never have I uttered one word, or put together any combination of words, to *justify* the most destructive part of their proceedings.

However, let this pass for the present, and let us return to the subject of refusing to pay taxes. The man is a foolish man who puts forth the pamphlet which I have just quoted upon this subject; but there can be no question of the truth of what he says with regard to the intention of innumerable persons to resort to this in case of necessity. Last spring, a farmer in one of the most important of the counties of England, he being apparently the spokesman of many others, very seriously asked my advice upon this subject; and it appeared to me that if I had said "*Do it*," the refusal would have been adopted immediately. I refused to give any advice at all, or to offer any opinion as to the consequences. This was long before we heard of the Breton Associations: it was a thought that naturally occurred to men who had to pay taxes: we had not then heard of the French Revolution, and, indeed, no one thought of such a thing. Every one felt the burden of the taxes; and the remedy, therefore, presented itself to every one, just as the abatement of a nuisance does to those who find an illegal obstruction in a road or a footpath. Formidable as a resort to this remedy would be in London, it is nothing to what it would be in the country. The moment, as I observed in my last *Register*, that the thing were begun as to the assessed taxes, not a penny of tithe would ever again be rendered; and not an exciseman would ever again show his face in a malt-house, or in a hop-kiln. I do not think your Lordship is at all aware of the manner in which the contagion would spread over the whole kingdom. You saw the fires, from a mere kindling in the east of Kent, find their way into Dorsetshire, Wales, and Lincolnshire, and, indeed, into Yorkshire; and can you imagine that a thing so captivating as the withholding of taxes and tithes; a thing so substantially advantageous to the parties; so pleasing to all the millions of people, would not spread in like manner, and with even greater rapidity?

It is very clear that, if the labourers continue to receive even the wages which they get at present, tithes and rents cannot be paid, and the taxes paid too. But it is certain that the labourers will get more than they can get now. It is in human nature written that they should not stop till they get back to plenty of good food and good raiment, which the present wages will not give them. For this, therefore, you ought to be provided. They now *know the law;* and they say so in every part of the country. They had no idea of doing any-thing but merely rescuing themselves from the infamy of living upon potatoes. They had no idea that they were to be condemned to death, and transported for life for merely assembling in bands of sturdy beggars, and frightening people out of a little

money, without touching, or attempting to touch, a hair of their heads to do them harm. The poor carter-boy, SUTTON, in Hampshire, had no idea that he was to be condemned to death, and transported for life, for going with a band of fellows like himself, all of them in liquor, and bullying a housekeeper out of "*four copper pennies.*" Now they know the law, and they say that they know it. In Hampshire they have seen one man hanged for knocking down a fellow called a gentleman, on Friday, though the same gentleman was presented at Court on the next Monday. They never dreamed that this was the *law of England!* They have seen a hundred and thirty-five men transported from Hampshire alone by that Special Commission which your Attorney-General, in a speech in Parliament, says has been accused of *too much lenity!* They now know the law: *they say they know it;* and they also say, and you ought to know that they say, that they will never again suffer for such acts as they have now suffered for. In London, the people never heard of a tenth part, nor a fiftieth part, of the troubles of the county during the month of November and the following three. Heaps of outrageous abuse were poured forth upon the labourers: every term of reproach was used towards them, and it was sedulously inculated, particularly by ALEXANDER BARING, and the feelosopher of the *Morning Chronicle*, that they were as well off now as ever their fathers had been. How atrocious were these representations! There is no species of cruelty short of life and limb; no species of insult, no mark of degradation, that the basest and cruelest of minds can suggest, that had not been inflicted upon them. Condemned to exist upon half the allowance of felons in the jails, their bodies sold by auction for time, like those of the negroes in Jamaica, made to draw carts and wagons like beasts of burden, and *old men and women* harnessed along with the rest; men and women married, separated from each other by force, to prevent them from breeding, one of the worst acts of the masters of the Roman slaves; men compelled to work with bells round their necks, like the brute beasts that feed upon grass and upon hay; and, in some instances, or, at least, in one instance, so far had the insolence and cruelty been carried, as forcibly to cut the long hair off from the heads of young women, they fainting under the hands of the hired overseer. Thus mutilating them, disfiguring their persons, or compelling them to starve, or to turn out and become prostitutes in order to preserve life. Any-thing so atrocious, any-thing so diabolical, as that of the treatment of the farm labourers of England never was heard of before in this whole world. And yet, in the face of all this, and all this as notorious as the sun at noon-day, the infamous newspapers of London, and particularly the bloody *Old Times*, called for the slaughtering of these people because they would endure this infernal treatment no longer.

The criterion, however, was *potatoes or bacon.* The labourers brought the question to a very narrow point. "Shall we be compelled to live upon "potatoes any longer, or shall we "not?" and they resolved that they would not; and they *do not* live upon potatoes. For my own part, who have seen their situation and pleaded their cause for so many years, who have seen them shut up in pounds like stray beasts, I have always been impatient at observing their long-suffering in silence; and, if I had given up all hope of ever seeing their lot made better, I never would have remained here to be the countryman of men so degraded. I felt shame to be one of a community, the great majority, and by far the most meritorious part of that community, who were treated in this unmerciful and brutal manner. They have rescued themselves from their degradation; and it is for your Lordship patiently to consider what must be the inevitable consequences. The sixty millions of taxes have not been raised out of any addition that has been made to the resources of the country. Mr. MARRYAT, about nine years ago, observed, in his place in the House of Commons, that we had, by

the war and the paper-money, *added greatly to our riches*; that we had added to the value of the country by bridges, canals, roads, and buildings of various descriptions. I told him then, and, if you do not remember it, it is necessary that I should tell you now, that this was no addition to the wealth and the resources of the country. I told him that the means of creating all these things, the sight of which gave him so much delight, had been drawn from the labouring people; that the clock, the brass kettle, the beer-barrel with its contents, the good bedding, the curtains to the windows, the rest of the household stuff, the Sunday coats, clean linen shirts, and good dress all throughout, had been taken away from the millions of labourers; and that the meat and the bread had been taken from them, and the hellish potatoes put in their stead. Therefore, said I to him, the infernal paper-money has *created* nothing: it has robbed the millions, and given to the thousands; and I trust in God that a day is to come when the *millions are to take it back again*. If your Lordship does not recollect this, Mr. Maberly will; for he, in answer to an observation which I had made on his speech, imputing to him the absurd notion that an *addition to the debt* was an addition to the capital of the country, explained himself as having meaned that the addition of which he spoke consisted of the bridges, roads, and so forth, as mentioned above.

That time for which I prayed so earnestly is come. The labourers are taking back that which the infernal paper-money system had taken from them; and there are the bridges and roads and canals, and everlasting rows of fine houses totally unavailable for any useful purpose, showing to every man of common sense that, instead of being an addition to the resources of the country, they are and will be a lasting memorial of its decline. Not less, I should suppose, than thirty millions a year will in a short time be taken back by the working people; by the labourers in the country, I mean; for those who are employed in the providing of luxuries have always had more than a sufficiency during this state of things. It is, therefore, quite impossible to continue to pay the labourers, amongst whom I include, of course, all those who supply the labourers with necessaries. All the inhabitants of villages, generally speaking, and a very large part of those of country towns; it will be absolutely impossible that they should continue to have meat and bread, and that the interest of the Debt, that the pay of the Dead-Weight; that that of the army, and of the placemen, pensioners, &c., should continue to be paid on the present scale, unless rents and tithes be wholly given up. There are in Hampshire, according to a very careful calculation, 29,000 able labourers in agriculture. Allow the old men, women, and boys, to make the number up 40,000. Give these an additional shilling a-piece for the six days in the week, and this amounts to 626,000 pounds a year. The whole of the rental of Hampshire is 1,130,951 pounds a year, including the rent of all the houses and other property of that immense mass at Gosport and Portsmouth and Southampton; so that this addition to the wages of the labourers will be nearly equal, if not quite, to the rent of all the really agricultural part of the county, and this, you will please to observe, includes the annual income from the tithes. So that here are rent and tithes swallowed up at once by this addition, without reckoning any-thing for additional wages to smiths, wheelwrights, and collar-makers. And will the addition be less than this? To the wages of the labouring man, an addition from a shilling to nine-pence has been made in Hampshire; that is to say, to the man already in employ; but the single man will now have six shillings a week instead of the half-crown that he got before; that is to say, if he be kept at work by the parish; but this will not be the case: when so much is given him he will be brought into the fields, and then he has full pay, which will be from ten to twelve shillings a week, instead of the half-crown which he got before. Besides this, there are

the immense sums paid for *watching*; and this will not cease entirely until the people are all well off. Another thing is, the indulgence which all the labourers will receive as long as any-thing like terror shall continue to prevail. Allowing Hampshire to be, and it is rather less than, an average of the whole kingdom, and allowing the whole of Wales to be equal to four counties like Hampshire, here is a sum, for the whole of England and Wales, of 28,000,000*l.* a year, in addition made to the wages of labourers. More produce will certainly come from this addition to wages; because men will be ploughing or hoeing in the fields, instead of cracking stones on the road. Less poor-rates will certainly be required, because wages will not be paid out of the rates; but still here is quite sufficient to sweep away all the tithes and all the rent; and this is the opinion of every man who possesses any considerable degree of knowledge upon the subject. It is useless to talk of schemes of emigration, or schemes of any description, other than those for the reduction of taxes, and that, too, to a very great amount. My opinion is, that not one half of the tithes of the last year have yet been paid, and less than one half of the rent. The owners of the land seem, at last, to have opened their eyes, and to have perceived that their doom is sealed unless they can obtain an abatement of the taxes.

And how is this to be accomplished? By the adoption of Norfolk Petition, and, in a peaceable manner, in this whole world, there is no man capable of devising any other means for the accomplishment. That petition, which I had the honour to draw up, and to present for the adoption of the sensible and spirited people of that great county, and which petition I shall subjoin to this letter, contains the only possible means by which the embarrassments and dangers of the country can possibly be overcome. When Coke and Suffield were holding their hole-and-corner meetings, after the passing of that petition, for the purpose of uttering their calumnies on me, I told them that the day would come when they would think themselves lucky, think themselves too happy, if they could see that petition acted upon in all its parts. With what sorrow, and, if they have any sense of shame left, with what shame must they now look back to that disgraceful day when, holding up the bloody *Times* newspaper in their hands, they adopted its infamous calumnies against me, and promulgated them throughout the country as undeniable and acknowledged truths! I wondered what could make Coke so bitter an enemy of a man who had never spoken ill of him, who had always been exhorting him not to lend himself to the schemes of loan-jobbers, pensioners, sinecure placemen and *grantees*; little did I imagine that he was a grantee himself, and had been all his life-time: little did I imagine that this great landowner, this munificent patron of agriculture, this independent representative of the land; little did I imagine that he was the grantee of Dungeness Light-house, through the means of which he had drawn from the nation *two or three hundred thousand pounds!* He has recently said, that, after being half a century a Member of Parliament, he has, at last, lived to see the wishes of his life accomplished; that one of his wishes always was a repeal of the Test Acts, another the emancipation of the Catholics, the last and greatest of all, a Reform of the Parliament; and that now, having seen this, he, almost in the words of Simeon, calls upon the Lord to suffer him to depart in peace; for he has now seen every-thing accomplished. No, Mr. Coke, stay a little longer, I pray you: there is *one* thing more which you will see accomplished if you stay a little longer; namely, the resumption by the nation of the grant of the Dungeness Light-house; for, if a reformed Parliament sit out one session without a resumption of that grant, be well assured that the people, who will certainly make this reform, will call loudly for another.

From this digression, into which I felt myself absolutely dragged, I return to the subject of the Norfolk Petition,

when I carried which to Coke, he received me as a bashaw receives a Turkish slave. The Norfolk Petition was the effect of a conviction in my mind that there was a combination amongst every member of the aristocracy, from the very highest to the very lowest, for the purpose of preventing me from ever having any influence in the settlement of the difficult affairs in which they had involved the nation. I have often expressed myself to this effect; and I see just the same spirit prevalent, and just the same views entertained, as were then prevalent and entertained. Somehow or another, all agree, not by positive compact, but by tacit convention, or almost by instinct, to do nothing that shall possibly remind the people that there is such a person as William Cobbett in existence. It has filled people with wonder to perceive how they have been able, in certain cases, to carry on debates without alluding to me. They have talked of Locke and of Hume, of Adam Smith, and even of Ricardo, all authorities except me. How many prayers have they put up for my death! How many times have they wished to do the things recommended by me, yet dared not because they were sure that the people would have the justice to say that the measures were mine. I could fill ten papers like this with instances of this their anxious desire to keep me out of sight; but they have always been defeated by my never-ceasing industry and perseverance. Upon one particular occasion your colleague, Sir James Graham, contrived to make a speech of several hours about Peel's Bill and the currency of the country, without an allusion to me from the beginning to the end. His opponents were equally careful, which brought forth a writing from a Dublin newspaper which might have put any man to shame. Upon that occasion I, in the *Register* of the 5th of July, 1828, having inserted the article from the *Dublin Mercantile Advertizer*, made the following remarks upon it, which are not unworthy of your attention at this time.

"There, '*bright sword*,' take that as "a proof of the light in which the well-"informed part of the public view the "matter. The London *press* is, how-"ever, *silent!* Yes; but the London "*people* are not. This base press is "under an influence from which that "of Ireland is free. This London press "is known to be, is undeniably, the "most base and corrupt thing on earth; "but it has no weight with the public; "and, therefore, affords no good "ground of comfort to the *tacit com-*"*bination*.

"I wonder to *what point* the *tacit* "*combination* will carry its rare silence! "Will it go on until the affair shall go "*quite* to pieces? Will it face con-"vulsion rather than *openly* come to "my shop? In 1822, I told Gaffer "Gooch that he must come *to my* "*shop*; but that he should come *openly*, "in the *day-time*, should enter at the "*street-door*, and ask for me *by name*. "I say this still: I have the means "of cure always ready; but never "shall they be applied without all the "world knowing that they *come from* "*me*.

"Oh! but the proud stomachs will "come down. Wheat at four shillings "a bushel, farms paying no rent and "given up to the poor to raise their "food on, property violated with im-"punity, society convulsed to its centre; "or panic making every man tremble "who has any-thing to lose, and making "law of no more weight than an old "ballad; or, bank-restriction and two "prices, followed by all the conse-"quences, so well known and so fatally "illustrated in the case of France. "Either of these will pull the *proud* "*stomachs down*, and when, probably, "it will be too late, make them openly, "and *by name*, appeal to him, to keep "whom down they have exhausted so "ample a budget of contrivances. Yes, "the proud stomachs will come down; "and the sooner they come down the "*better for themselves*. As to *my* "*triumph*, that is quite safe; but the "longer the *tacit combination* shall "exist, the more signal that triumph "will be.

"It is no exaggeration to say, though "it is monstrous to think of, that the "nation has been ruined by the re- "solution of the great and the rich to "prevent me from attaining the emi- "nence to which I was entitled by my "talents and my virtues, and that all "that spoliation, that destruction of "fortunes, that sweeping down of meri- "torious families, all that misery, that "starvation, those broken hearts and "those acts of self-destruction, which "DAVENPORT, looking PEEL in the face, "ascribed to his bill; that all these sad "consequences have been caused, not "by that bill *alone*; but by a long "series of acts, some of omission and "some of commission, the sole object "of which was *to keep me down*. This "is no exaggeration at all. The *ven- "geance* I have taken is that pointed "out by all virtues: I have resolved to "stand higher than any other man, by "constantly advising that which the "happiness and safety of my country "demanded, leaving my adversaries to "save themselves by acknowledging "my superiority, or to persevere in "their unnatural strife and take the "consequences."

Now, my Lord, is not this all true; is it not very ridiculous? Is it not very shameful? But, thank God, the *proud stomachs* are coming down; and would it not have been better for them if they had come down a little sooner? And what must your Lordship think when you see all my great opinions adopted by the people? When you read their petitions and addresses, and when in them all you find nothing but the echo of my opinions? What must you think when you see petitions coming from the great and enlightened towns; coming from parish after parish, and county after county, and district after district, complaining of all the things of which I have so long been complaining, and praying for all the things for which I have so long prayed in vain! What must you think, particularly when you see gentlemen and scholars met together in great numbers, complaining that the tithes are not applied to their original purposes, and praying accordingly for their abolition? Why, the very fact of the original purpose was hidden from the nation till brought to light by me. Look over the thousands of petitions that you have received, and, if you can get over your pride and your passion, you will see that it is me, and not you, round whose principles the people are rallying. You must be convinced, for you are too sensible a man to resist the conviction, that it is I who have implanted in the breasts of the people the desire and the courage to demand this reform. I would fain cast from my mind the horrid idea; I would fain, but I cannot, cast from my mind the horrid idea that it is this conviction in the minds of some persons, at any rate, that led to the hatching of the black and atrocious conspiracy intended to drive me from my country, of the mind of which I have been the maker.

The good of all this is, too; the curious circumstance belonging to it is, that, while all these monstrous efforts have been making to *keep me down*, I have never had the smallest desire in the world to be raised up; but, on the contrary, have fixed, have rendered irrevocable, my vows of seclusion, by publicly proclaiming, in the year 1806 (when you were in power before), that nothing ever should tempt me to pocket public money, either by my own hands or by any one dependent upon me; and while I have always been hankering after the gardens and the fields, and after that sort of life which is precisely the contrary of that of ambition; before this reform was made (and I take it to be made), I was very anxious to be in Parliament; but only for the purpose of obtaining this very object. In 1810, the first wish of my heart was to slide off gently into the fields, and never to return. I was brought back by force, I had the choice of suffering my base enemies to prevail over me, or to renew the fight and presevere till their fall. Could I, think you, from the happy scenes in Long Island, wish, for my own sake, to return to see my countrymen in rags and feeding upon potatoes. I came back in or-

der to rescue them from that miserable state; and I believe that millions of them are sensible that I did not come back in vain.

The thing is now coming to a point, the grand drama, in which I have so long acted a great part, is now drawing to a close; to a happy and peaceable close, I hope; but, if it be not such, the whole nation will agree that the fault is not mine.

It now remains for me to address you on the subject of the rumour mentioned at the beginning of this letter; namely, that it is your intention to put off the passing of the Bill for Reform until next year; and it is my bounden duty to warn you, that, if my opinion be correct, all the consequences will take place which would inevitably take place if the Bill *were now brought forward and rejected.* The story of an intention to postpone the passing of the bill until next year, is so monstrous in itself, that I should not have lent an ear to it for a moment if it had been circulated only in London, this theatre of lies and of babble. I heard of it here, to be sure, but paid no attention to it, until a letter from a gentleman in the West of England, well informed, a zealous actor, and a successful actor, too, in the cause of Reform, was wrote to me on the subject, at a distance of pretty nearly two hundred miles from London. It is curious that his belief in the fact seems to have been strengthened by the news which he had just then received of the determination of the Government to prosecute me. He had heard, and from what he deemed pretty good authority, that the Ministers were alarmed at the resolute proceedings of the people, who they feared were *carrying things too far.* A hundred and fifty miles in the northern direction, we find General Johnstone (one of the very few zealous friends of the people that I ever knew to sit in Parliament), telling the people of Lincolnshire of this rumour of intended postponement, and expressing a hope, that, if such a thing were attempted, the whole of the counties ought instantly to meet, and adopt measures to prevent so injurious a proceeding. To these must be added, certain circumstances with which, indeed, we were acquainted before, but which were then deemed to be of little importance. Amongst these was your Lordship's own declaration in the House of Lords, that the Bill went much further than you, at first, intended it should; and the speech of Sir Richard Vyvyan, made the other day, at the nomination in the county of Cornwall, is, as connected with this matter, by no means to be overlooked. His words were these: "Before the Duke of Wellington had "gone out of power, he (Sir R. V.) had "a communication with *a member of* "*the present Cabinet*, who stated to "him the outlines of a Bill for Reform, "*with which he fully agreed*; that bill "violated *no existing right* — *gave* "*members to large towns without dis-* "*franchising any borough* — extended "the right of voting for counties to "*copyholders*; and provided for *les-* "*sening the expenses* of contested elec- "tions."

I take this from a report in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 10th instant. Now, Sir Richard Vyvyan would not have said this if it had not been true, and, being true, it tells us this, that, as far as the inclinations of the Ministry went, the Bill which was at last brought in, was strongly contrary to those inclinations. Sir Richard Vyvyan added an opinion of his, that the Ministry had made the Bill so sweeping for the express purpose of having it rejected. This I do not believe; but, I do believe that it was made so extensive as it is because you are satisfied that nothing short of it would at all satisfy the people.

Now, then, my Lord, pray consider what, with a knowledge of the circumstances just mentioned, would be the effect of postponing the Bill until another year. If you brought forward so extensive a measure for no other purpose than that of giving satisfaction to the people and restoring quiet to the country, and this was manifestly the case; if you brought the measure forward with this motive, how can you imagine that the people will patiently endure the putting off the measure until

next year? I dissent from the opinion of Sir RICHARD VYVYAN, that, hating Reform altogether, you brought in so sweeping a measure in order to have it rejected and get rid of the question; but, if you were *now* to postpone the measure, I, keeping the aforementioned circumstances in view, should certainly believe that your intention was that no such measure should ever go into effect; and this, be you assured, would be the opinion of every sensible man in the kingdom. I pray you to look a little at the gallant conduct of the people upon this occasion: look at their exertions of every sort; look at their sacrifices endless; look at the risks to which they have exposed themselves; see the people of Bedfordshire casting to the winds all their former attachments, all their habitual dependence, all care as to the consequences to their interests; tearing up by the roots all the influence before exercised in the county, and bringing in a member (a very worthy man to be sure) who had galloped down from London upon the spur of the moment, to call upon them to do that which was never dreamed of before, vote against their own landlords, and many of whom are, in all probability, excellent landlords too. Look at the people of Boston, actually resolved to lose their lives in the field, or upon the gallows, rather than suffer an enemy of reform to be elected in their town. Not a word do the London newspapers tell us of these things. They tell us that Mr. DUNCOMBE has resigned in Yorkshire; but not a word do they tell us of 4000 men preparing to march to the city of York to compel him to resign, or, at least, to ensure the return of four reform candidates. One would imagine that the crushing of KNATCHBULL in Kent, as quickly, and with as little ceremony as one treads upon an earwig or a snail; one would think that this alone would be sufficient to convince you that the people are bent, resolutely bent, upon having a Reform according to the Bill.

Your own newspapers, if they are so to be called, have been joined by the newspapers all over the country, calling upon the people for exertions and devotion in this cause. They wanted no calling upon, indeed: they all understood the matter well; but the press has contributed to the stirring of them up, and to exciting their indignation and their rage against the opponents of the measure. Their exertions have been crowned with success; they are exulting in the prospect of enjoying the fruit of that success; and, if they be now disappointed; if the long wished-for and laboured-for cup be now dashed from their lips, who is to expect from them any-thing but ungovernable rage? Besides, there is the serious consideration of the *taxes*; that consideration which comes home to the bosom of every man who does not live upon those taxes. They want Reform that their burdens may be lightened; the middle class that their families may not be reduced to total ruin, and the labourers that they may not be starved. If, indeed, you could postpone the operations of the tax-gatherer, the parson, and the exciseman, until next year, then they might wait with patience: then it would be wait for wait. But this will make no part of the proposition: all the ground for wishing for reform will remain, while the reform itself will be put off until next year, or for ever; all the causes of irritation, all the causes of anger and hostility, will be left alive; the business of tradesmen will continue to be suspended, the prospect of utter ruin will go on, becoming more and more dismal; in short, hope will be wholly extinguished, and despair and the acts of desperation will immediately succeed. As to the farmers, they are now paying wages that must be their total ruin if they continue to pay rent, taxes, and tithes. Two out of the three they must leave unpaid. They are looking to reform as the means, and the only means, of their deliverance from danger; and, if they be bereft of that hope, who is to expect that they will not make common cause with their labourers at once; who is to expect that they will step forward, at the risk of their lives, to maintain the laws, and to uphold a system which is

stripping them of their last penny? The author of the pamphlet published by Mr. Ridgway, relates that, in a county that he is acquainted with, there was great difficulty in raising a corps of yeomanry to protect their own property, because the yeomen thought they would be "*required to fight for sinecure placemen and rotten boroughs.*" In another county, he says, that the Commander made to his yeomen a speech against reform, and that thereupon they threatened to throw down their arms. Is not this enough to convince any man that if the reform be postponed until next year, which all men of sense will regard as a postponement for ever: is not this enough to convince any man that the farmers will, upon such postponement, resort to a refusal to pay taxes and tithes? In which case, who is to describe the ultimate consequences?

This is the fearful thing: the bill which you thought necessary, and which was necessary, to give satisfaction to the country at large, is now become absolutely necessary to prevent general convulsion. If your Lordship imagines that time will make the people cool, your imagination must arise from want of a due consideration of the matter. This is not a spirit; it is not momentary enthusiasm on the part of the people; it is not at all like that feeling which was roused in the case of the Duke of York and Mother Clarke, or that which was afterwards roused in the case of the injured Queen. In those cases, and more particularly in the latter, the feeling was general; it was great, and most laudable: it reflected the highest honour on the character of the people. But it was temporary; it ceased with the cause; the cause was remembered; but it ceased to demand the interference of the people. In the present case, there is no enthusiasm, properly so called, at all: it is reason which is resolutely at work to obtain a redress of long-existing and most intolerable grievances; and until those grievances cease, never will the people be pacified again. The call for Parliamentary Reform is not the call for an abstract right; it is not a call for a theory; it is not a whim that animates the people: they are animated by a desire, long entertained, to get rid of burdens that press them to the earth, and by a resolution to accomplish their object.

Under such circumstances, to talk of men becoming cool and pacified by *time* is absurd. It is the burden that they want to get rid of: as I said before, if you suspend the burden; if you take that from their shoulders in the mean time, they will patiently wait for Reform, not only to next year, but for half a dozen years if you please; but, as you cannot do that, as it is impossible to do that without a Reform of the Parliament, I beseech you to proceed at once with the bill, or to be prepared for all the consequences which I have thought it my duty frankly to lay before you. If the bill be postponed for any length of time; if diligence be not now used to carry the measure into full effect, there is not a man in the country who will believe that it is intended to be carried into effect at all. Men's suspicions are awake already; they have been so often disappointed, not to say betrayed, by various pretenders who have called themselves their friends; they have been promised so many things for their benefit, not one of which has ever been performed; they have so invariably seen that postponement means abandonment, that the smallest hesitation now; the smallest sign of the truth of this ominous rumour, would spread universal alarm, and prepare the country for anarchy and confusion.

I most sincerely hope that the rumour has no foundation in fact; most men wish discomfiture and disgrace to fall upon their enemies and persecutors. My feelings, at this time, owing to my anxious desire for the happiness and peace of my country, form an exception to the rule. Nothing will please me more than to discover that there is no foundation for this rumour; but duty towards my readers compels me to observe, that I perceive, and with great regret, that no mention is made of this rumour in the London newspapers who are well understood to have a certain

degree of connexion with the government. This I cannot deem a favourable sign. The rumour has been widely spread; it is in every one's mouth; it is working in all parts of the kingdom; it relates to a matter of the last importance. and it is, therefore, somewhat surprising that it is not stifled at once, as it might be, in a paragraph an inch long, inserted in the London newspapers.

However, my Lord, you have my opinion about the matter; you have my warning. This is all that it is within my power to do to prevent those consequences which I apprehend, and no part of which will remain upon the head of WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Since writing the above, an account of the proceedings at the Middlesex election have reached me. Those proceedings are of a very interesting character, particularly as they relate to this matter, the postponement of the Reform Bill till next year. I shall, therefore, here insert an extract from that account. After the two candidates, MR. BYNG and MR. HUME, had been regularly nominated, and when the Sheriff was about to put the question, whether the electors chose these gentlemen or not, Colonel JONES stepped forward, for the purpose of putting a few questions to the candidates, if no one else were disposed to do it, and then the following questions and observations were put and made. I beseech my readers to read the whole of this account with great attention, and to attend particularly to the answer which Mr. HUME gave with respect to the rumoured delay. Let them pay attention, too, to what Mr. POTTER says with regard to this rumour. It appears that every-body had heard of it, and though the rumour is attributed to the enemies of reform, I can hardly believe that the delay has never been thought of by *some of the Ministers*, at any rate.

MR. POTTER, of Mary-la-bonne, came forward, and said that he thought it indispensable that some questions should be put to and strictly answered by the candidates, that the electors might be insured. Reports had reached him, and from quarters that he could not avoid paying attention to, that a faction intended to overhaul his Majesty's Ministers on their immediate introduction of the Reform Bill. He had no reason to be dissatisfied with Mr. Byng's conduct or Mr. Hume's. He had at one time entertained some opinions different from Mr. Byng's; but he thought nothing of them when that gentleman recorded his two votes for the Reform Bill, and against General Gascoyne's motion. Still he felt it incumbent on him to put the following question to the hon. Gentleman and his colleague: If, on the meeting of the new Parliament, an attempt should be made to defer the introduction of the Reform Bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill, would the two candidates, as far as was in their power, oppose such a step?

MR. BYNG said, that he was much obliged to his worthy elector (Mr. Potter) for having put the present question, or any other which he had put, that was explanatory either of his past or future conduct in Parliament. He had been asked, whether if there should be any attempt made to put off the motion of the passing of the bill, he would support or encourage such an attempt? He really thought that there was not any one who was not of opinion that it was impossible for any Minister to put off a measure of so important a kind, especially when he knew what Ministers they had, and what a King they had. And, as life was so uncertain, he should think it would be the most senseless thing for any man to entertain an opinion of putting it off for any longer period than was necessary. Life, as he before said, was uncertain. They had now the proper actors for bringing to a crisis the long-agitated and important question, and it would be worse than madness to think of postponing it any longer than was necessary. ("That is not an answer; he has not pledged himself to support the bill.")

MR. HUME: as far as he was concerned, and he knew his colleague was of the same opinion as himself, he should say, that he should not certainly consent to any postponement of the question. He hoped that the answer he had given would be sufficient. He had no doubt (indeed he knew) that suspicions were circulated by the enemies of reform that delay and alterations in the bill were contemplated. It would be the first thing, he was assured, which Ministers would bring before the House on its meeting. The electors had seen him in the last House of Commons do every-thing which he could to assist Ministers, and to push forward the business of the session, in order to enable them to appeal to the country. If they should elect him now, he would bring the matter before the House, should *any delay take place; but it was highly satisfactory to him to say that a Cabinet Minister had assured him that no delay or alteration had ever been intended, and that the bill would be brought before Parliament forthwith.* (Great cheering.) He hoped his answer would be considered satisfactory.

Mr. WAKLEY then asked the Members if they would use their best endeavours to prevent Ministers from deferring the consideration of the bill, if they were so minded—if they would vote for schedule A and B, and for the 10*l.* rate?

Mr. BYNG said he was sorry that his answer was misunderstood by any-body on the hustings. He had said, that he considered the Ministers would be destitute of common sense if they delayed the bill one day after the completion of the forms necessary to the assembling of the House. He had voted for this bill in every shape, and would vote for it. Although, perhaps, some verbal alterations might be necessary, it was now beyond doubt that nothing would be done by the new Parliament which could affect the spirit of the bill. The great majority of those elected had distinctly pledged themselves to support the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill.

Mr. JONES asked whether, if the Members should give a vote contrary to the feeling of the majority of their electors, they would resign the representation of the county?

Mr. HUME declined upon his own part and that of Mr. Byng to directly answer the question. They would be at all times ready to come before a county meeting, and defend their conduct and votes in Parliament; but it could not be expected that the opinions of individuals should be made the guide of their public conduct. If the voice of the majority of the county should happen to be fairly declared against them, they would not, of course, hesitate in resigning the trust which had been confided to them.

The SHERIFF then demanded if there was any other candidate, and none being proposed, he declared G. Byng, Esq., and J. Hume, Esq., duly elected.

Mr. BYNG, in returning thanks, observed, he had great pleasure in meeting large bodies of his constituents, because he came before them with the confidence of an honest servant, who had never betrayed their interests. The two grand objects were Religious Freedom and Reform in Parliament. When he last met them the first had been achieved, and he had now to congratulate them upon the certainty of carrying the other, which was, if possible, a measure of more importance. Forty years ago he had considered reform in the House of Commons necessary, and had resolved to join himself with the first body of influential persons willing to promote this great object. Three years after he had joined a party, headed by Charles Grey, now the Prime Minister, who then advocated a measure as like the present bill as possible, doing away with the nomination boroughs, and giving votes to householders contributing direct taxation. This measure was called revolutionary, but by whatever name it was called, he was sure it would secure the peace and happiness of the country. He lauded the bill as giving half a million of additional defenders to the constitution, and affording representation to 230,000 fundholders, possessing from 10*l.* to 50*l.* a-year; to copyholders, who were now as independent as any men, fines having been made certain, and to the manufacturing and commercial interests; and concluded by repeating his thanks to the electors, and congratulating them upon living in happy times, when they had a Patriot King and wise Ministers able to bring about the great measure without any violence whatever.

Mr HUME said, it was nine months since he had last met them. He was happy to see that since he had received their honourable trust committed to his care, nothing had occurred to alter their good opinion of him, but that, on the contrary, many who then took no interest in his success were now his warm supporters. He would only repeat what he had said on former occasions, namely, that he would attend as well as possible to their local interests. His deeds would bespeak his zeal for the public good. He would not waste their time by promises or pledges, but appeal to his past conduct, and he hoped the people would every-where look to the past conduct, and not to the promises of their representatives. He had heard many promises at the hustings from gentlemen and their friends, but seldom had he seen those promises fulfilled. The present measure had awakened the attention of the people to the conduct of their representatives, and he hoped that they would be taught their own rights and interests by the bill, and that they would be impartial judges of what their representatives may have done. For himself he had no fears. He hoped the country at large would act upon other Members as those of Middlesex had acted upon him. He hoped that before six months there would be another election, and that voters would look about carefully in all parts of the kingdom, to find out who are the fit persons to represent them. (Cheers.) It never could be expected that any gentleman would waste the fortune of himself and his children upon a seat in Parliament, and would then attend to the interest of the country in preference to his own. If they allowed a man to buy them, they must expect to be sold. It had often been cast in the teeth of those who demanded Reform, that the people did not desire it, and that there could not but be corruption in the representative body whilst the constituent body was so corrupt. But we had now seen the people maintain their rights, and spurning bribes, return honest men to represent them. The people would no longer be the slaves of the domineering borough-mongering faction; for the bill would put an end to it. (Cheering.) He referred to the assertion of Sir Robert Peel, that he would stand upon the hustings with the Reform Bill in his hand, and explain its dangerous tendency to the people. (Great laughter.) The hon. Gentleman went on to say, that another member of the House of Commons had declared that the effect of the passing of the Reform Bill would be to shake the crown off his Majesty's

head, but it was a declaration which they knew how to treat, and which no one would have dared to mention in any other assembly than that of the House of Commons. He would now take the liberty to draw their attention to some of the rotten boroughs now in existence, and proposed in the Reform Bill to be swept away. He held a long list of them in his hand, but he would not read them through. He would take one or two at random, which would serve as a fair sample of the rest. Now Aldborough, for instance: that returned two members, and the patron of it was that famous nobleman, the Duke of Newcastle, who had rendered himself more famous by his declaration of his being enabled to do whatever he chose with his own, or, rather, what he called his own. Lord Stormont was the member, and, as might be recollected, a most noisy and uproarious one he was too. Now he should like to know under what just title this gentleman sat for the borough? Six voters returned him; the borough itself was not of any great consequence, and yet Birmingham, the thickly populated seat of industry and wealth, was destitute of any representative. Gatton was another of these nice places; there were only five electors in it, and yet the removing of these, and giving them to Birmingham, Sheffield, or other large places, was said to be likely to produce revolution and its concomitant evils. But it was almost an insult to their common sense to waste arguments upon such foolish assertions, such last efforts of certain brawling ex-Ministers. The hon. Gentleman, after alluding to Minehead and Old Sarum in similar terms, said that he had been in Parliament now for several years, and he had heard it said by a late influential and respected Minister, that although the people themselves in many places did not actually give their votes for the members returned for the boroughs or places in which they resided, yet their interests were served all the same, inasmuch as the Members returned by a few electors did not represent that few, or a chosen county alone, but the whole country and its interests. But was this the case in reality? Had their experience shown them it was? Such assertions —for arguments he could not call them—as those he had just quoted, had been used by the Anti-Reformers till they found that they were no longer of utility, that they now availed them nought. They then endeavoured to make up for their deficiency in that respect by impudence and affrontery; but, finding that that even would not do, they became frantic. He, indeed, hardly wondered at it, after their strenuous efforts had been all defeated by the excellent conduct of his Majesty's Ministers. Mr. Hume said he knew that he had almost exhausted their patience, but he had been carried away by the subject, and he, in some measure, felt it his duty to shew the humbug and the nauseous stupidity of the Anti-Reformers. He could not avoid alluding to the numerous advantages of Reform. Not only would many boroughs that had disgraced themselves be abolished, but all close boroughs, the power and influence in which now rested in a few hands, would be thrown open, and every man who paid rent of the value of ten pounds annually would be entitled to vote for whom he thought proper. The hon. Gentleman concluded by saying, that when the Bill was passed he would, instead of the single branch of laurel which he now held in his hand, have a whole tree or crown in honour of his present excellent and patriotic King, who, he should think, no one would deny was in every way deserving of it. (Cheers)

Colonel JONES then came forward, and said, that during the time the late short Parliament had sat, they had delivered themselves of one of the finest bantlings which it had been their good fortune to see for some time. It would, however, soon lose its beauty and value if they did not nurse it carefully, and bring it to maturity. After the trouble with which it had been introduced by Ministers, they must take care of it in every way, and not, like wicked nurses, neglect it. The gallant Colonel then proceeded to say that he regretted to have remarked some evasion of the question which he had put to the candidates. Some elector wished such a question to be put; he thought it a very proper one, and, having a loud voice, he asked it. The learned Serjeant who had preceded him had given great praise to the members, but what he said was not sufficient: the electors themselves had a right to be perfectly satisfied on every point. He was well acquainted with Mr. Hume—he coincided with him in his principles—he knew him to be an honourable man, but he would not trust any man. The gallant Colonel went on to observe, that he understood it was more than probable that his Majesty would think it advisable *to add several Members to the House of Lords.* If such was the case, he knew of no man who, from his time of life, and his important public services, was more entitled to that honour than Mr. Byng, who had served the electors of Middlesex so long. They would then have to look for a new Member, and in doing that he would advise them *not to be influenced by property or great names.* He would not wish them to be guided in their choice by the *sound of high names*, as the houses of *Russell* or *Cavendish.* Let them form their opinion of the men, and the opinions which they hold, and not of the names which they bear.

Observe here, that Mr. HUME says that he himself will, at once, bring the matter before the House, should any delay take place; but he also says, that a Cabinet Minister has assured him that no delay is intended; and that the bill will be brought forward forthwith. Mr. WAKLEY's question, whether the

Members would use their endeavours to *prevent* Ministers from deferring the consideration of the bill, if they were so minded, had been answered before by Mr. HUME, but it was not fully answered by Mr. BYNG. However, he seems to have pledged himself to go the length of Mr. HUME. Colonel JONES' speech, which closes the account, though short, is really one of the best that has appeared in any of the papers upon this occasion, particularly that part of it which relates to the sort of man which the electors ought to choose in case Mr. BYNG should be made a peer. He advised them not to be influenced in their choice by *great property or great names*; not to be guided in their choice by the sound of high names, as the houses of RUSSELL and CAVENDISH; but to be guided by the opinions which men hold, and by their ability to give effect to those opinions. This is precisely what I told the freeholders of Hampshire at the late county meeting. I told them that if they must still have men with handles to their names; if they must still be *Sir* ridden or *Lord* ridden, even a reform of the Parliament would do them no sort of good; that they had been reduced to the ruin which they had now experienced by their silly, not to call it base, adoration of any-thing having a title to set it off; that this was really more degrading to the character of man than the worship of molten images; and that, in short, unless they sent to a reformed Parliament men selected for their spirit, their sense, their knowledge of the affairs of the country, without any attention whatsoever to rank or riches, a reform of Parliament would be a mere deceptious sound; they would continue to decline, they would be still the slaves of haughty and insolent masters, and if ever they were rescued from that slavery, it must be by the means of their more sensible and courageous labourers. I agree most cordially with Colonel JONES; I have observed all his conduct for a considerable time past, and that conduct is not the less entitled to praise, and he not less entitled to public confidence, because he is so cordially detested by the Whigs. There is no question that he ought to have been the Member for the Borough instead of the Master in Chancery; public virtue made him give way; but if he had reflected, that the object was to keep him out as much as it was to put young Brougham in, he would not have given way. It is curious to observe how this Whig faction is now working: it hates the Tories, as it calls them, but it hates the radicals still more, while it is really doing that which the radicals want done; for what is meant by *radical reform*? The *rooting up* of the tree of corruption. *Radical* means *appertaining to the root*. And where is the root? Why, in the infernal rotten boroughs. To tear up this root was the life-long labour of MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, who began the work full fifty years ago, and more than fifty years ago. He had various propositions with regard to the new-modelling of the Parliament; but it was to tear up this root which was the constant burden of his prayers and exhortations. He called it, sometimes, the "*accursed cancer*," that was eating on to the very heart of the country; at other times, he called it the canker worm that was gnawing incessantly at the vitals of the state; at other times he called it the *root of all evil*, which supported the tree that shed poison over the land. Well, then, this accursed tree is now to be torn up by the root; and yet those who were, as far as they were able, in different degrees, the cordial fellow-labourers of MAJOR CARTWRIGHT are *even yet* spoken of disdainfully by the partizans of those who are actually making this *Radical reform*: nay, and they go so far as to say that they make the proposed reform in order to keep down the radicals, amongst whom they do Colonel JONES the honour to reckon him.

Every body said, that, since Colonel JONES had so generously given way in the case of Southwark, those who had the management of the funds raised for the purpose of returning Reform members, ought to have taken especial care to furnish the means of providing a seat for Colonel JONES. Have they done

this? No; and, when you see Sir BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE, the thirty years' placeman, and about five-and-twenty years head Commissioner of the NABOB of ARCOT's debts; when you see him subscribing a hundred pounds towards this fund, can you want any-thing more to convince you that, as far as these fund managers are concerned, it is the exultation and the durability of the power of the Whig faction that is contemplated, and not the obtaining of a Parliament which shall do justice, at last, to the nation, and which shall, amongst other things, endeavour to ascertain how it has happened that there has been, for nearly *fifty years*, a band of Commissioners supported to carry on the concern commonly called the debts of the NABOB of ARCOT?

The people, who receive none of the taxes, the taxed millions of this kingdom, see, in proposed measure, not every-thing that they could wish for; but they see in it the peaceable means of putting things to rights; the peaceable means of giving men the fruits of their industry without tearing the Government to pieces, without levelling the pile which has so long stood. And, therefore, they have most cordially and bravely given their support to this measure; but, the Whigs are very much deceived if they think ever again to make the people the instruments in the hands of a faction. It is very clear, however, that that faction has in view the permanence of its predominance; that it expects to be able to mould a new Parliament to its wishes; that it expects to be able to retain all the taxes and tithes as they now stand; and that, in short, it expects to suffer nobody to profit from the change but itself. One would imagine that men could not be so far blinded even by the love of power or emolument; but it is certain that these men are so blinded, though common sense would tell them that these exertions of the people have not been made for the purposes of faction, but for the purpose of producing a great change in the people's own state and affairs. If any-thing were wanting to show that these are the views of the Whigs, we have this circumstance, that not one of the Whig Boroughmongers has even now, at this eleventh hour, and, indeed, within two or three minutes of the twelfth, put into any of their boroughs, one single man heretofore known as the advocate of Parliamentary Reform. *A-propos* of this filling up the seats in boroughs which have been condemned by the bill. Lord JOHN RUSSELL, in proposing this bill, represented this borough-power as a daring usurpation; represented it as hostile to the spirit of the law and constitution; as an accursed thing which ought to be destroyed. With what decency, then, is it that these borough-holders, who affected to declare that they willingly resigned that which they had held by such shameful usurpation: with what decency is it, that they have now again exercised that power which they have affected to reprobate? It would have been but decent in them to decline interfering any more in the naming of members for those boroughs. It would have been but common decency in them to say to the people of those several boroughs, "*Choose whom you please.*" Not they, indeed; they have again stuffed in their nominees, they have clung on to the use of the power even after they themselves had condemned its existence. Believe then in their sincerity who will. I shall not be one amongst the number.

Colonel JONES mentioned, that he understood that it was more than probable that the King would think it advisable to *add several members to the House of Lords*. This, if done, will doubtless be with a view of carrying the bill. The King has the power to do it; and, if it be necessary for the purpose, the people will doubtless applaud him for the act. But, let us never disguise from ourselves that the *whole is the work of the people*, and of the people alone. It was not the House of Commons that turned out the Duke of WELLINGTON. It was the people that turned him out: it was the people that made Lord GREY come in, if he came in at all, with a promise of reform on his lips. It was the people that

made the Ministers abandon the miserable scheme described by Sir RICHARD VYVYAN, and bring in the present bill: it was the people who enabled the Ministers to dissolve the Parliament: it is the people, the whole body of the people, that are now sending back a majority in favour of the bill; and it will be the people that will cause the bill to pass; and seeing that all this is so evident, let us hope that things will be so managed that the people, who are reasonable and just, as well as persevering, may have no cause to become discontented, to adopt measures of resistance, and to throw things into utter confusion. According to all appearances, there must be a great majority in favour of the bill; that is to say, a majority of votes in favour of it. Some persons reckon a majority of 120. A majority of fifty would be quite enough. There is little danger of the bill being chipped away in detail; for the whole people now clearly understand the subject: it is not in the power of man to deceive them. My earnest wish is, that the Lords will render a creation of new Peers unnecessary: it would be a monstrous degradation of their whole order, and would pave the way to that result which some of them have anticipated from a reform of the other House; for it would, in fact, be a compelling of them to give their assent, than which nothing could be more dangerous to their whole order: it would be, though perfectly legal, though perfectly consonant with the prerogatives of the King, tantamount to a dissolution of the Lords. However, this is no affair of mine. I wish the bill to be carried without it, if possible; but, if not, I wish that this may be done. It is curious that I have a hundred times warned the Lords that it would come to this at last, and that it must come to this unless they gave way in time. Their wise way would be to declare at once that they would not resist this universal call of the people, and, by this means, prevent a collision which must lead to their very great injury.

WM. COBBETT.

NORFOLK PETITION.

THIS petition, which I am now about to insert for the fifth or sixth time in the *Register*, was agreed to in Saint Andrew's Hall at Norwich, on the 3d of January, 1823. Upon reading it again now, I see not one single word to alter. My opinion is, that a reformed parliament will pass acts agreeably to the tenor and the prayer of this petition. As far as I am concerned, I do not think that any circumstances can arise to make me slacken in my efforts to cause such a measure to be adopted. It is just that this measure should be adopted; and it appears to me the only possible means of settling, in a peaceable manner, the troubled affairs of this country. If a reformed parliament should have enough of the old aristocratical leaven in it to induce it to treat the principles and propositions of this petition with scorn, my opinion is, that the troubles of the country, so far from ceasing, will go on becoming greater and greater.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The Petition of the Nobility, Gentry, and others of the County of Norfolk, in County Meeting assembled, this 3d day of January, 1823,

MOST HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioners have always been ready to make any sacrifices which were necessary to the defence of their country, and to the safety and dignity of their Sovereign's throne; but that they are now impelled by their well-known, indescribable, and unmerited sufferings, to approach your honourable House with an humble prayer, that you will be pleased to adopt the best means of relieving them from those sufferings.

That, in proceeding to suggest those means, which they do with the greatest respect and deference, your humble petitioners cannot disguise from themselves, and they will not disguise from your honourable House, that they en-

tertain a fixed opinion, that this now unhappy country owes all its calamities to the predominance of certain particular families, who, since the passing of the Septennial Act, have, by degrees appropriated to themselves a large part of the property and revenue of the whole nation, and who have, at last, by taxes, debts, and changes in the currency, involved themselves as well as the whole of this industrious community, in difficulties too great to be removed by the hand of Time, or by any but the most vigorous measures of legislation,

That, whether we look at the Church, the Army, the Courts of Law, the Customs, the Excise, the Colonies, or the Crown-Lands, we see in each a channel of enormous emoluments to these particular families, for whose benefit and aggrandisement, more than for any-thing else, the whole of these sources of riches would appear to exist. And that, therefore, though justice and necessity demand a reduction of the interest of the Debt, and an equitable adjustment of all other contracts, your humble petitioners would deem such reduction an act of deep iniquity, and they deem such adjustment wholly impracticable as long as these particular families enjoy those emoluments, and as long as they retain in the legislature that absolute sway which they have acquired through the means of the Septennial Act, in conjunction with the notorious and scandalous abuses connected with the representation.

That it is well known to your honourable House, that, for more than twenty years, the particular families received a large part of the above-mentioned emoluments out of the money borrowed from the fundholders; that, during that period, more than a million of money was taken out of the loans to be given to the Church; and that, in fact, no inconsiderable part of the whole of the loans went into the pockets of these families; and, therefore, your petitioners will not suppose it possible for your honourable House to harbour an intention to take even a single shilling from the fundholders, so long as these families shall continue to receive those emoluments.

Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly pray, that your honourable House will be pleased to pass an Act for causing an efficient Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, in order that such Parliament may adopt the measures necessary to effect the following purposes:—

1. An appropriation of a part of the public property, commonly called Church Property, to the liquidation of the Debt.
2. A reduction of the Standing Army, including Staff, Barracks, and Colleges, to a scale of expense as low as that of the army before the last war.
3. A total abolition of all Sinecures, Pensions, Grants, and Emoluments, not merited by public services.
4. A sale of the numerous public estates, commonly called Crown Lands, and an application of the money towards the liquidation of the Debt.
5. An equitable adjustment with regard to the Public Debt, and also with regard to all debts and contracts between man and man.

But, while your humble petitioners are aware, that, to Reform the Commons' House and to effect the other purposes of Justice and necessity, which they have here most respectfully pointed out, may require a lapse of months, they know, that your honourable House have the power, and they will not believe that you want the will, to afford them immediate protection against further ruin. They, therefore, seeing the pressing nature of their case; seeing the abject misery that hourly awaits them, pray that your honourable House will be pleased,

1. To suspend, by law, for one year, all distraints for rent, and to cause distraints to be set aside where they have been begun.
2. To suspend all process for tithes, for the same period.
3. To suspend, for the same period, all processes arising out of mortgage, bond, annuity, or other contract affecting house or land.

4. To repeal the whole of the tax on Malt, Hops, Leather, Soap, and Candles.

These measures, so analogous to others, taken by your honourable House under circumstances far less imperious; these measures, so easily adopted; so free from the possibility of inflicting wrong; and, at the same time, so necessary to relieve your petitioners from the daily alarm in which they live; so necessary to afford them a hope of escaping from the pains and disgrace of the lowest pauperism and beggary: to believe that these measures, measures of bare protection from further wrong and ruin; to believe that these will be refused to your suffering petitioners, would be to suppose the existence of that callousness of heart which your Petitioners are far indeed from imputing to your honourable House.

Having thus, with the most profound respect, submitted to your honourable House those which they deem the best means for relieving their distresses, your humble petitioners, though they are satisfied that evils so unusual and of such uncommon magnitude require remedies of a nature extensive and extraordinary, beg leave to assure your honourable House, that they venerate the constitution of their fathers; that they seek for no change in the form of the Government; that they know how many ages of happiness and of glory their country enjoyed under a Government of King, Lords, and Commons; that they fervently hope that this constitution may descend to their children: but that they are fully convinced, that, unless the present evils be speedily arrested and effectually cured, a convulsion must come, in which the whole of this ancient and venerable fabric will be crumbled into dust. And your petitioners will ever pray.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM'S SPEECH AT THE ELECTION IN CUMBERLAND.

From the Morning Chronicle, 10th May.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM then stood forward, and was received with three hearty cheers. He said the gentlemen on the other side of the hustings (the proposer and seconder of Lord Lowther) express themselves in favour of some reform— of a large measure of reform, for these were the words; (a laugh) and the noble Lord himself had expressed something of the same kind in his address to the freeholders, a copy of which I now hold in my hand.—(A person in the crowd cried, "Lord Lowther says he can give us something which the King cannot give," which created much laughter.) My friend in the crowd says that the noble Lord promises to do something which the King can't do. I know not what that may be, but I know what the King and his Ministers have done. They have brought forward a plain, substantial, and intelligible measure of Reform; and I fearlessly ask, is it so, or no? (It is—it is, and cries of hear, hear.) The noble Lord says he is for some kind of reform; but I could never hear from the noble Lord what kind of reform he meant. (Cheers.) But this is the time for you to test him. (Much cheering.) This is the time for you to ask him for some pledge of his intention. He is now at your bar; (Aye, and we will try him—a laugh) and if you perform your duty, you will get from the noble Lord distinctly what he means by a large and extensive measure of reform. (Continued cheering.) The last time I addressed you from these hustings, I remember, I had a wish to know who represented the borough of *Cockermouth* —and, except the returning officer, no man could tell me. (A laugh.) And who now represents that borough; (A voice in the crowd, "*Scarlett.*") Aye, and sorry I am to hear him named in that way, for he was *once a valued friend.* Yes; the Ex-Attorney-General—*a recreant Whig*—a follower of Fox—a nominee of Earl Fitzwilliam—a man honoured and respected untill he began *to wage an infamous war with the press.* (Cheers.) He, I say, has been obliged to *fly from the indignation of the people,* and seek refuge in Cockermouth, under the wing of my Lord Lonsdale (cheers); he has crept into the House of Commons through the postern gate, of which a Rev. Vicar (the Rev. E. Fawcett), now on these hustings, keeps the key—he has skulked from the offended majesty of the people, and is to be found the representative of those burgage tenures for which the late Mr. Saterthwaite showed so much fondness. (Cheers and laughter.—A voice in the crowd, "How do you like that my Lord?") Gentlemen, before you go to the poll, let me again advise you to come to a distinct understanding with the noble Lord as to the extent he will pledge himself on the Reform Bill.

If Sir James Graham had been *wise,* he would have said not a word about Scarlett's "waging an *infamous* war *with the press.*" It is not more *dishonourable* to be a nominee of the Lowthers than of the Fitzwilliams; but,

as to *the press*, let the Whigs hold their tongues; let them not suppose that the nation is to be any longer humbugged by them on this score.

DUKE OF BEAUFORT.

As I, in last Register, copied from the *Courier*, for the purpose of commentary, the statement relative to the Duke, I think it just to copy from it the following paragraph: no cause ever triumphed, in the end, by the means of falsehood. "The paragraph "which has appeared respecting the "late Duke of Beaufort's will, asserts "that which is entirely without foundation. The will only contains *one* "contingent clause (relative to *any* of "his sons) and that concerns a *family* "living, and can therefore have nothing "to do with *public money*, which may "be ascertained by the very test mentioned in the paragraph alluded to, "namely, that for one shilling the will "may be seen at Doctor's Commons. "As various assertions have of late "been made relative to the present "Duke and his brothers which are "equally void of foundation, this opportunity is taken of remarking that the "Duke of Beaufort *never* received *one* "sixpence of public money, that *none* "of his brothers or *any* of his family "have ever had any sinecures or "pensions of *any* sort or description, "except that which Lord Fitzroy "Somerset receives, like every other "officer who has lost a limb in the service of his country, his Lordship having had his arm shot off in the Battle "of Waterloo."

THE TRIAL.

OWING to my not having received the *countermand* of the notice for trial until Friday last, *after the Register was gone to press*, I was unable to communicate, until to-day, the information to my readers. To many friends in the country, letters were written; but it was impossible to do this to any great extent; and to the base daily press of London, that mass of monopoly and corruption, I scorned to resort in such a case, though I should thereby have prevented many gentlemen *from coming to London* to give me, upon this occasion, marks of their friendship and approbation. I thank all these gentlemen most sincerely. The base London press *is forced onward by the people*; this base press, which *hastened with great glee to noise about* that I was SENT TO NEWGATE; this lying and infamous press is NOW *as silent as a mouse upon the subject*! This corrupt thing, which knows that I have caused the reform, and which hates me for it, because reform must destroy its profitable corruption, is now like a pack of wolves, whose mouths were watering for their prey, and who see that prey escaped from them, *for the present* at any rate; and they were very eager to be at it! The "BALLOT," weekly paper, is the only one, as far as I have seen or heard, that has done its duty in this case; and, indeed, it is the only one that *ever* does its duty, except by compulsion. However, again I say, that a reformed Parliament will put an end to the corruptions of this press. The people, by this "*mere motion*," have suspended these corrnptions, and have forced these mercenary tools of power to cry aloud for the very thing that will destroy them.—But we are not *always* to be without a DAILY PAPER that will scorn corruption, and that will daily inform the public, and not delude it. I say that we are not always to be without such a paper: the public call for it, and if they have it not, it shall not be my fault. In short, there is an intention of establishing such a paper, with as little delay as possible, and with which paper I shall have some connexion.

ALDERMAN SCALES.

I HAVE, at present no time for comment on this affair; but it must be fully commented on by-and-by.

Yesterday the proceedings relative to the case of Mr. Scales, elected Alderman of Portsoken Ward, were resumed.

Mr. ALLEY said, so strange was the impression upon him, ever since he had heard the attempt made to accumulate such a mass of absurd imputations upon the head of his worthy friend, Alderman Scales, that, asleep or awake, the image of the donkey was ever before his eyes. He was quite at a loss to know what could have excited such a violent feeling against his client—a feeling which luckily failed of its object, because its malignant power was merged in the folly of the experiment. Alderman Scales was the son of a gentleman of property in Devonshire, who preferred an industrious trade for his son, to the life of idleness so often adopted. Thirty years ago he came to London—was apprenticed—advanced in prosperity—and having retired, naturally aimed at the elevation to which the President of that Court had attained, and one day hoped to display a similar spirit of independence and patriotism. But, after all his labours—after he had been chosen by a considerable majority, he was told that there was an insuperable bar to his claims, although no one could deny that he *legitimo modo electus*, and he found that a nest of individuals were associated together against his honour and his fame. It had been asserted, that Mr. Whittle Harvey, the unsuccessful candidate, had had no act or part in those proceedings; but he had a shrewd guess that if the Court would declare Mr. Scales not qualified to sit, that worthy gentleman would immediately come forward, and insist upon his title to the vacant seat. Did not the Court think they had lawyers enough amongst them? They had, indeed, quite as many as were disposed to do them good. (A laugh.) "My Learned Friend," said Mr. Alley, "says, gratuitously, that Mr. Harvey is not interested either way; but *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes;*" and I would not at all fancy the spectacle of a son of the tortuous profession usurping the place of a respectable butcher in the magisterial supremacy of the greatest city in the world. (Laughter.) There were now, in consequence of the vile and unreasonable opposition, thirteen Aldermen assembled in that Court to hold an inquisition upon the body of a dead ass. (Loud laughter.) Their Worships had been occupied for hours in the endeavour to ascertain whether the deceased was fat or lean. They had learned, upon proof likely to satisfy ordinary men, that a death-blow had been inflicted, because the head (he would not say the brains) had been found separated from the body, and they were now called on by the prosecutors to decide upon the merits of the question, whether it was a donkey, a buffalo, a calf, or a kangaroo. (Loud laughter.) The learned counsel then successively combated each charge. He condemned the general manner in which the accusations had been brought, and designated it as cowardly, and as matter of mere experiment, to see whether his learned friend could, by his ingenuity, make out a case from a bundle of atrocious falsehoods. The charge of the fictitious tickets was, he said, altogether foundationless; but even if his client had been a party to the issue of such tickets, that was no proof that he had broken any bye-law, or violated any fixed rule of the corporation. The Court had taken a monstrous stride in the case of Alderman Scales, but he was not sorry for it, because he would have an opportunity of placing himself before them and before the public by means of the press, which had lent a ready, but, he was sure, an unconscious hand to the propagation of the libels, as a man capable of filling the office to which he had been elected, with zeal, courtesy, talent, and independence. The next charge was that which imputed a violent temper to Alderman Scales; and the principal ground upon which that charge was founded was, that he had brought an action against Alderman Lucas, when Lord Mayor, for trespass. Here was a heavy accusation! So there was such a screen to be set round the members of the Court, that no man must dare to contest their power in a court of law, without extinguishing all right and title to sit amongst them, without subjecting himself to insult and degradation—and that charge had been made, be it recollected, pending the cause in the Court of King's Bench. The learned counsel next adverted to the case of assault which led to the ecclesiastical censure and penalty upon Alderman Scales, which the Judges pronounced to be illegal. Was not the purity of the case palpable in the accumulation of such matter? Another grievous accusation was, that Alderman Scales, finding that the green-yard authorities, in conjunction with Jack Forrester, the officer, pounded his sheep on Sundays, for the purpose of dividing the spoil between them, which they did upon one occasion to the tune of 18*l.*, reclaimed a large flock without ceremony. The Alderman thought it rather too much that he should be heavily punished for the appearance of his sheep in the streets on the Sabbath; that he should open his purse-strings for the inevitable exercise of his trade on the Lord's day, in order to reward Jack Forrester for a corresponding breach of the law, by the exercise of his trade. (A laugh.) Mr. Alley then called the attention of the Court to the charge of fixing the seal of the Jews improperly upon meat sent, for their use. He ridiculed the notion of calling that act an act of fraud; and said, that whatever sort of offence it might be, his client was proved to be wholly guiltless of it. He hoped, too, that if the Jews were to be emancipated, one of the conditions should be, that they should kill their meat according to the humane plan of Alderman Scales. He next adverted to the charges of infidelity and Mahometanism preferred against his client, and in a very happy strain of ridicule, described the probable condition of the minds of those indivi-

duals who appeared to support those portions of the imputed criminality. Having touched upon every charge in a masterly manner, Mr. Alley said, that his client stood before the Court accused of being a person of such base and profligate habits as rendered him unfit to sit amongst the members of that Court, notwithstanding the solemn denial of the truth of the charge by two hundred and eleven inhabitants of the Ward, who declared him to be a most upright and excellent man. "He has stood his trial," said Mr. Alley, "with extraordinary temper and patience. He has gone through it with great honour to himself, although heaven and earth have, as it were, been turned upside down, for the manufacture of offences with which to upbraid him. He stands before you without a stain upon his character or his conscience, and let him who is without sin amongst you cast the first stone." (Applause before the bar, and a titter amongst some of the Aldermen.)

Mr. ALLEY then called the following witnesses:—

Mr. Death, haberdasher, of Aldgate, deposed that he had known Alderman Scales eighteen or twenty years. For some years in the early part of his life they were not on terms, but Mr. Scales acted in so manly and honourable a manner, that witness sought his acquaintance; and he was convinced that he was in every respect well qualified to fill the situation of Alderman. As to Mr. Scales's private life, no man could be more honest or philanthropic. Witness was on the inquest three times, and had observed that it was the practice of all persons in the Whitechapel-market to keep open their shops till eleven o'clock on Sundays. Mr. Scales was a most charitable man, and gave away thousands of pounds of meat to the poor in the course of the year.

Mr. Burrowes, of Houndsditch, had known Alderman Scales some years, and considered him a man of the highest integrity and honour—a courteous and upright person.

Mr. Tyers described Mr. Scales as a most excellent character, and charitable in the highest degree. He had reason to believe that those who signed the petition against Mr. Scales did not at all understand what they had been about.

Mr. Pewtress, of the Minories, spoke in the highest terms of Mr. Scales.

Mr. Barker, of Cripplegate-without, had known Mr. Scales nearly fifty years, and believed him to have been all his life upright and honourable.

Mr. Ford said, that Mr. Scales was a man of great benevolence. He could give particular instances.

Mr. ALLEY—He is not a Mahometan.

Mr. Ford—It is ridiculous to doubt his religion.

Dr. Barclay said, he had had a public acquaintance of ten years' standing with Mr. Scales, who was one of the vestry at Bow. That parish were greatly obliged to him for his exertions and for the benefits he introduced. Witness considered him a man of powerful talents, and that he had a keen eye for prying into abuses, and that sort of character got men enemies, as the Court knew. (A laugh.) Mr. Scales was always an excellent character.

Several other respectable men gave the highest accounts of Alderman Scales's character, and

Mr. ALLEY said, he could call fifty more at the moment.—(Some voices in the crowd cried out, "There are upwards of one hundred of us here.")

The Court then determined to hear Mr. Bodkin's reply on the next Court-day, and to decide on the admission or rejection of Mr. Scales.

Since the publication of the above, the Court of Aldermen have decided that they will *not swear in Mr. Alderman Scales.* And the ground upon which they have so decided is, that he was under the age of 14 years at the time when he was apprenticed, and, therefore, that he is not a good freeman of the city, and ought not to belong to their Court. Mr. SCALES, it appears, has resolved to prosecute his claim in the Court of King's Bench with all possible speed. One thing, however, of much more importance than Mr. SCALES being an Alderman of London, is, that he should now, in a regular methodical manner, *state to the people* the *real grounds* on which he has been rejected by this Court of Aldermen; for the people form the tribunal for him to be judged by. If reports be true, he will be in the very next Parliament that shall assemble; and that will be the place wherein to bring forward a full exposure of this curious matter. If the Court of Aldermen can set him aside upon the petition of a few people of the ward for which he has been chosen, there should be a petition by the ward generally to the Parliament, praying for its interference in this case, and in every case like this. With regard to his being a *butcher*, which some persons have put forward as an objection to him, never in this world did men witness any-thing so audacious and so profligate. Why, the whole of the constitution of the corporation of London contemplates that tradesmen, and

nothing but tradesmen, shall be members of that corporation. Look at the titles of the several *companies* constituting this corporation. There is the *Fishmongers'* Company; and why not a man that deals in *flesh* as well as a man that deals in *fish*? There is the *Skinners'* Company: what, then! shall a man who deals in the body of the animal not be deemed as fit for the Magistrate's chair as the man who deals in its skin! Butchers were Common-councilmen and Aldermen of London long and long before the name of *Banker* had ever been heard of. There is no Bankers' Company, and no Merchants' Company, except that of *Merchant Tailors*. And are the trades of London, the real legitimate trades of London, to be thrust aside because the grinders of paper-money, and the dealers in stocks (deemed fraudulent by Act of Parliament) and Bills of Exchange, and speculators, as they are called, and West India negro-drivers, and East India fortune-makers, have perked themselves up as the head of the city? This is a great subject, first on account of the manifest injustice done to Mr. SCALES, and the gross insults that have been offered him; but it is a subject in which the whole country is interested; for, while men are talking about violation of charters, here is a violation, indeed. With regard to the miserable pretence that he wanted *four days of a proper age* when he was bound apprentice, it is too frivolous, and too scandalous, and too manifestly insincere to permit us to talk about it for a moment. Mr. SCALES was not bound apprentice *four days too young* to be eligible for a seat in Parliament, and in that seat I trust we shall see him soon. Only think of the monstrous constitution of a corporation, which will permit me, who never was an apprentice in London at all, but who am a freeman and a liveryman of London, and who am eligible to all the offices of the corporation, not excepting that of Lord Mayor. There are many hundreds of us of the same description; but then I gave *fifty pounds* to be put into the pockets of somebody belonging to the corporation: I was compelled to pay about thirty pounds of this in order to be permitted to keep a shop in the city; and for this payment I am to be admitted, while Mr. SCALES is excluded. Nay, if Mr. SCALES will now pay fifty pounds, he, according to their own rules, may be admitted in spite of them. But it is in vain to talk; every-where, on every side, the corporations, like the parsons, appear to be anxious to hasten their own doom.

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

REPUBLIC I call it, for republic it will be in reality. I do not care to put into print, just at present, that which comes directly to myself; but my readers may depend that the following account, taken from the *Morning Chronicle*, and dated at Paris on the 11th of this month, is strictly true; and being true, who can believe that the French are much longer to be cheated by their present government? For my part, I do not believe it: my opinion is, that we shall see a real republic established in that country in a very few months. The object has been to cheat the nation into a belief that they had got a change for the better, when, in reality, no change at all has been made. The article is very interesting, and I recommend it to the attention of my readers.

SIR,—To-day we have a grand but an unpleasant matter to discuss! I should be almost happy to avoid it—but we have no party purposes to serve in *The Morning Chronicle*, except it be the party which loves truth and justice and principle. The Government has been guilty of a great act of folly. It has raised the question of whether those who made the Revolution are satisfied with its fruits;—and they have received a decided negative!! This act, on the part of the government, evinced temerity and not bravery—and a *harum scarum* indifference to the state of public opinion. M. Casimir Perier has acted like a man who was too confident in his own strength—and too resolute on carrying through his own system. He has failed—and that failure is an event in the history of France!! you may be sure of that.

Now let me explain the history of this affair, as briefly as I can, but as fully as its importance deserves. Your readers will recollect that a law was passed during the late Session of Parliament, which directed the im-

stitution of a "Decoration," to be conferred on and worn by those who should be indicated by the commission of "national recompense" as those citizens who most distinguished themselves by their bravery and disinterestedness in the revolution of July. To the government was left the duty of deciding on the form and size and fashion of the Decoration; but the thing itself was decided upon by a law, and was passed, as all laws are, by both Houses of Parliament, and then received the Royal assent. The decoration thus established was not a royal, but a national decoration. It was not the King, but the nation, which thus expressed its gratitude and love. To wear such a decoration was, therefore, indeed an honour, since it was conferred in the name of thirty-three millions of emancipated and regenerated freemen! This mode of establishing the decoration was wise and noble. It was worthy of the revolution, and of those who made it,

Although the law had passed some months, no progress was made in the affair. It remained a dead letter. Those who had risked their lives, their liberties, and their property, in the days of July, remained unrewarded; and the public became weary of waiting, and disgusted with the delay. This was natural, and the delay was culpable. At length M. Casimir Perier became Minister. He found the law unfulfilled, and the intentions of the nation not carried into effect. He resolved on paying immediate attention to the subject, and prepared in a few days the form of the decoration, arranged with the commission the colour of the riband, &c., &c., and then sketched out an ordinance, which declared that the decoration was "given by the King!" and which required that all who received the decoration should take the Oath of "Allegiance to Louis Philippe, and fidelity to the Charter!!!" To state that the decoration was "given by the King" on that decoration was false; and more than that, the falsehood altered the character of the decoration, which was, in fact, "given by the nation," and rendered a national honour a mere regal act of favour and bounty. Nothing could be more insulting to the decoration, and more at variance with the spirit as well as letter of the law; and nothing could be more revolting to those who made the revolution. For, let it never be forgotten, that although the revolution adopted Louis Philippe because republican institutions were promised to be attached to, or rather form the base on which the throne was to be erected, yet that the revolution was never made for, nor in the interest of Louis-Philippe, and no one ever dreamed of him (except his own small party) until after the revolution was completed. A King was adopted, not as a King, but as the head of a republican government, and not as a King hereditary, but as a King elective; and not as a King to reign over France, but to be a third power in the state, which should act in concert with those republican institutions which were most solemnly promised to the revolution of July! To this act of folly, then, on the part of M. Casimir Perier, in substituting the words, "Given by the King," for "Given by the nation," there are objections on the score of principle, which no sophistry can get rid of, and which no modern or ancient royalists can explain away.

But there is another clause in this ordinance attached to the distribution and wearing of the decoration, which is still far more objectionable, and even infinitely more unwise and illegal! It is the clause which requires that those who wear the decoration shall take "an oath of allegiance to Louis-Philippe, and of fidelity to the charter." This condition M. Casimir Perier thought was the masterpiece of good generalship on his part; and if ever he rubbed his hands and looked plased in his life, it was when the King wrote "approuvé" to this royal ordinance. M. Perier hoped by this measure to be furnished with an argument which would avail him at all times against the statement made in ten thousand forms every day that he lives, by ten thousand organs of public opinion; and feeling that the revolution is not complete, and that those who made it are not satisfied. He hoped to be able to say to the republicans of July, "Why you have sworn allegiance to Louis-Philippe—you have sworn fidelity to this charter which yet you profess to consider so imperfect, and how can you now fly in the face of this oath you have taken before God, and to the King, and to France?" The establishment of this rule, that an oath must be taken, was therefore a conquest for the Centres, a conquest for the Renters, a conquest for the rise in the funds, and a conquest for this Ministry of the "*juste milieu!*"

When the Ordinance appeared, there were attached to it the names of 1,528 citizens belonging to the department of the Seine, who had been adjudged by a jury of their fellow-citizens as most deserving of the gratitude of France, and, therefore, entitled to wear the Order of the "Cross of July!" Remember, then, that these 1,528 brave men have been decided on by a Jury, by the Houses of Parliament, by the King's Ministers, and by the King himself. All these have declared—have even signed their names and put their seals, even the Royal Seal, to the fact, that they are the most deserving, meritorious citizens who distinguished themselves in the days of the Revolution; who hazarded life, limb, and property, in the cause of liberty; who fought to their knees in blood against the hired soldiers of the fallen dynasty, and who triumphed over the enemies of their country, and established the cause of liberty on the ruins of despotism. This fact is the most important of all! These 1,528 men are entitled to the honour and gratitude of France! The law has decided that military honours shall be paid them; that, as they pass along the streets and appear in public, all France shall honour and bow to them, and that those who

wear the national decoration of the Legion of Honour shall not even take precedence of these 1,528 citizens! and let it be borne in mind that the men have not been selected at random!—that thousands who laid claim to the honour have been refused!—that out of the tens of thousands who fought in July, these 1,528 have alone been deemed worthy, by their inimitable and matchless valour and patriotism, of carrying on their breasts this national decoration, and, therefore, that we are not to be cajoled, either by the *Moniteur* or the *Debats*, into the belief that these men, so honoured by all France, are all of a sudden "violent demagogues," "unprincipled Jacobins," or "dangerous and turbulent citizens!!" This is too late! such accusations as these will not now be believed. The Commission of National Recompenses! the King's Government! and the King himself! have all united in selecting and approving the selection of these brave and noble men, as those most entitled to the honour, sympathy, love, and gratitude of the whole of France.

Well, then, these men, when they read the ordinance which declared that those who wore the order or decoration must swear "allegiance to the King, and fidelity to the charter," expressed their astonishment and disgust! They asked what the law said on the subject? and the answer was, "The law is silent!" They asked what right had the King to impose conditions which the law did not impose? and to this inquiry there was only the reply that "the King was the fountain of honour and reward," and had a right constitutionally of imposing such conditions! But this hollow subterfuge was met by the reply, that this might be very true with respect to honours and rewards emanating from the King, but that it was not applicable to the present reward, which was a decoration established by law—a national honour, and not a regal one. But this feeling did not evaporate in either astonishment or disgust, for a deputation from these brave and virtuous citizens then waited on the commission of national recompenses, as well as on the Government, and explained most respectfully but firmly, that those whom the nation had honoured refused to take the oath, and would never take it, first, because it was illegally demanded; and, second, because it was in opposition to their principles and opinions. This protest on the part of these brave and virtuous citizens was disregarded. The *Moniteur*, the *Debats*, and even *Le Temps* were engaged day by day to fight against the opposition of the 1,528 protestors, and they were called ugly names, their principles held up to scorn and derision, and those who made the revolution, and had been selected as entitled to the gratitude and honour of the whole nation, were denounced in the official and demi-official columns of these papers as the most unworthy and dangerous men!!! For some days past the matter has remained in this position! M. Casimir Perier, who mistakes obstinacy for dignity, and sounds for sense, has refused to give way! He has said, that if they did not like to accept the "croix de Juillet" on such conditions, they would not have it at all; that it was their loss and their dishonour, but that the Government would not yield. In vain have the best friends of order and liberty remonstrated and entreated. To give way would "prove timidity and alarm," in his opinion; and he has got hold of the idea, that the decisions of a Government must resemble those of the Medes and Persians. Poor man! he forgets that this was the ruin of the Royalist cause in 1830, and this led to the overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty.

Baffled in all attempts to adjust this question, at length the citzens, whose names appeared in the *Moniteur* as those entitled to the decoration, resolved on holding a meeting. An assembly was yesterday convoked in the large salon of the Grande Chaumiere, in the Passage du Saumon, of those whose names had been so published; and out of 1128, at present in Paris, one thousand attended the meeting! None were admitted but those entitled to the decoration, and the citizens were arranged in divisions according to the arrondissements to which they belonged, to avoid confusion and prevent mistake. Four hundred are at present in the departments, and could not therefore attend, especially as 300 and upwards are at present soldiers or officers in the army, and are therefore distributed all over France. For the first time since the revolution of July, one thousand citizens of those who most distinguished themselves were assembled in the same room, to discuss the question of whether they should swear allegiance to Louis-Philippe, and fidelity to the new charter! Nine months had passed away since the memorable events had occurred in which they all so greatly distinguished themselves! Some were without legs, others without arms, others were still delicate, and suffering from wounds they had received—and they now all met together to decide on whether the programme of July had been so fulfilled and developed, as to justify them in swearing allegiance and fidelity to the present order of things in France;

AND WITHOUT ONE EXCEPTION, ALL THE THOUSAND DECIDED IN THE NEGATIVE!!!

Now, after this, we must not be told that there are no Republicans in France! After this, we must not be told that those who are for marching with the Revolution, and who are dissatisfied at the foreign policy of the French Government, are not those who made the Revolution in July! After this, we must not be told that the Revolution is accomplished, and that France only desires order! All this is false. The meeting of yesterday has proved it! It has demonstrated it beyond the possibility of doubt! The rentiers may raise the funds—the lovers of ease and quiet, and things as they are, may pat M.

Casimir on the back, and bid him take courage, though they know that in July last they hid themselves in cellars, or garrets, or water-closets, and would do the same again in moments of commotion or danger; but we see that those who made the Revolution—who must know why they made it—have unanimously resolved not to take the oath of allegiance to Louis-Philippe or to the charter; but yet have resolved to place on their own breasts the decoration of the "Cross of July!"

At the meeting, yesterday, one veteran was present who assisted at the TAKING OF THE BASTILE in the first scenes of the first Revolution! His name was Decombis! "Citizens," said he, "I was happy enough to be among the number of those who assisted at the taking of the Bastile! I received the decoration which was established to commemorate this remarkable event, and I was never asked to take any other oath than that of fidelity to the people!" When he said this, the Salon rung with applause, and for five minutes no cry was heard but "Bravo," and "we swear to be faithful to the people!" The meeting was unanimous, quite unanimous—not even one solitary dissentient voice—all, all resolved on wearing the riband in their coats, which had been fixed upon as the riband of the new Order; and M. Decombis was requested to distribute among those present the riband which had been purchased for the occasion.

Whilst this meeting was taking place in one part of the city, the editor of *Figaro*, who is one of the 1,528, was arraigned at the tribunal for a libel on the Casimir Perier Ministry! When he appeared in Court he was ornamented with the riband of the Cross of July! The Judge inquired of him, with what riband he was adorned. "With that of July," was the reply. This led to a discussion. The Attorney-General required that those who wore the riband should take the oath! "No, no," was the answer, "we will wear the order, but the oath we will not take!" The Attorney-General became irritated. Both the editor and his advocate boldly asserted their resolution—a minute was made of all that passed—and I may as well add, though I shall have occasion to refer to it more distinctly to-morrow, the editor of *Figaro* was acquitted of the charge of libel, brought against him by the Casimir Perier administration! The Attorney-General declared, that those who wore the Cross of July, without taking the oath, would be dealt with according to law! What nonsense is this! If the offence be a political one, no Jury will condemn them; and if it be a mere matter of correctional police, how curious a spectacle it will be to see one thousand of the bravest and most virtuous citizens prosecuted by the Government of Louis-Philippe, for having worn a national decoration conferred on them by thirty-three millions of freemen, because they had not first taken a regal and a monarchical oath! Should Casimir Perier risk undue prosecution, he will become an object of ridicule.

Thus, France has established National Associations to defend the Revolution; and, though they are opposed by a Perier Administration, they continue to exist and progess, in spite of destitutions which that Administration dare not follow up: and thus France has established a national decoration, which those entitled to it will wear, without complying with the illegal requisitions of a retrograde, or at least stationary Cabinet!

If any-thing could convince M. Perier that he does not understand the revolution, these facts would do so. If any-thing could make him believe that those who made the revolution require that it should advance, these facts would do so. If he were not the slave of his own prejudices, and blind to the errors of his own system, he would yield to the millions, and not oppose a torrent by a feather. The party which supports his system never did and, never would risk either life or property in defending it. He knows that quite well; and yet he persists in a cruel indifference to the fate of Belgium; and a criminal inattention to the miseries of Poland, and contents himself by saying, "Be ye warm; be ye clothed," for "I am warm and am clothed, but I have none for you."

And now, what will he do? Will he retract the ordinance, and make another more legal and national? That would be wise, generous, manly and just? But will he do so? I fear not. Will he appeal to the tribunals, and insist on the oath being taken? The tribunals will decide against him. Will he allow the matter to remain unsettled, and a national honour, established by law, to be thus conferred and thus distributed? Should he do this, all France will condemn him! No, no, let us hope that he will feel that he did not understand, and that he does not understand, the revolution of July; and let us hope he will yield to public opinion.

One word before I conclude! Do not suppose from all this, that those who made the revolution wish to dethrone Louis Philippe! No, no; they only wish that he would march with the revolution! and sooner or later he will find that he must do so!!

SEEDS

For Sale at my Shop, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, London.

LOCUST SEED.—Very fine and fresh, at 6*s.* a pound, received from America about two months ago. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivation, for the pruning,

and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOODLANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 14*s.*

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 10*d.* a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 9½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 9*d.* a pound; above 100lbs. 8½*d.* A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. This seed was growed last year at Barn-Elm, on ridges six feet apart; two rows, a foot apart, on each ridge. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look; and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I *warrant* this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED. Any quantity under 10lb., 7½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 10lb. and under 50lb., 7*d.* a pound; any quantity above 50lb., 6½*d.* a pound; any quantity above 100lb., 6*d.* a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also growed at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. PYM, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth in Sussex: and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I *warrant* as the very best of the kind.

COBBETT'S CORN.—Having to quit my farm *at Michaelmas*, I could have *no Corn there*; but, at Kensington, I have had the finest crop I ever saw. The TOM TIT has said, that it is "*a complete failure*," and a great bleating beast, that is now laughed at by all the world, has been bawling about Lancashire, that this corn is "*not fit for a hog to eat, though I want the poor people to live on it.*" The answer to poor envious Tommy Tit is given by the beautiful crop that I have now on sale as seed. The answer to the malignant bleating beast might be given in *one very short word*. The *great use* of this corn is to *the labourers*. On *ten rods* of ground I have, this *very adverse year*, growed *eight bushels of shelled corn*; and that is sufficient to fat a pig of *seven or eight score*. Suppose the like comes, on an average, from 20 rods, is not this a great blessing for a labouring man? It is in this light that I have always viewed this corn as of the greatest importance. I have a room at Bolt Court, hung all over the walls with bunches of it. Those bunches would *fat a good large hog*; and I never look at it without most anxiously hoping to

see the day, when the greater part of English labourers' dwellings will be decorated in the same manner. The thing to do is to *distribute a little* seed amongst the labourers. In the *Two-Penny Trash for April*, I gave them instructions for the planting and management and application of this corn. I should be glad to cause to be distributed, 200 *ears of the corn* amongst the labourers of each of the counties of *Berks*, *Bucks*, *Wilts*, *Hants*, *Sussex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Essex*, *Cambridge*, *Lincoln*, *Huntingdon*, and *Gloucester*, as a mark of my wish to see them once more have *bacon* to eat instead of accursed potatoes, and 500 *ears* amongst those of the county of *Kent*, as a mark of my *particular* regard for the labourers of that famous county, the first that was trodden by the feet of the saints, and that never was trodden under the hoof of a conqueror. I do not know very well how to accomplish this distribution. If any gentleman, *whom I know*, in each of the aforesaid counties, will undertake the distribution, I will give him the ears for the purpose, and a *Twopenny Trash* (containing the instructions) *along with each ear of corn*. I SELL THE CORN AT MY SHOP IN BOLT-COURT, AT 1*s*. A BUNCH OF FINE EARS, SIX IN NUMBER; and the BOOK, on the cultivation and uses of it, at 2*s*. 6*d*.; which is called a TREATISE on COBBETT'S CORN.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, MAY 6, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

MACLACHLAN J., and D. Macintyre, Sun-court, Cornhill, merchants.
VANDERSTEEN, J., London-road, tinman.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

SPURRIER, W. J., Poole, merchant.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

WHITFIELD, R., Acre-lane, Brixton, American-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

CHRISTIE, A., Sheffield, engineer.
DAVIES, R., Little Pulteney-street, broker.
DEANE, M. W., George-street, Richmond, Surrey, tea-dealer.
FULLER, J., Swansea, Glamorgansh., tailor.
HARRISON, W., Pickering Mareshes, Yorkshire, horse-dealer.
HAST, W., Vine-street, Minories, merchant.
KING, C., Ipswich, Suffolk, inn-keeper.
KNIBB, J., Worcester, bookseller.
LANSDOWN, T. P., Clutton, Somersetshire, victualler.
LEYLAND, H., Ashton, Lancashire, maltster.
MEYER, J. F., Poland-street, Oxford-street, victualler.
READ, O. E., Kingston-upon-Hull, draper.
ROBINSON, T., Anchor and Hope-alley, St. George's-in-the-East, tallow-chandler.
SANSUM, J., Gravel-lane, Southwark, victualler.
SEAGELL, J., Beckingham, Kent, victualler.
SHARPE, R., Budge-row, ironmonger.
WILLIAMS, J., Stepney, victualler.

TUESDAY, MAY 10, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

SONGHURST, R., Budge-row, Watling-st., box and packing-case-maker.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

CROW, T. S., Garnault-place, Clerkenwell, dairymen, and Tysoe-street, Clerkenwell, slater.

BANKRUPTS.

BOWKER, J., Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, tavern-keeper.
COCK, S. B., Tooley-street, Southwark, provision-merchant.
COCKILL, T., Littletown, Yorkshire, dyer.
COPPING, G., Tharston, Norfolk, cordwainer.
DUNCAN, W., Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, cooper.
GWILLIAM, G., Bristol, soap-boiler.
LOWE, J., Chetwynd Aston, Shropshire, maltster.
MORTON, M., Kermingham, Cheshire, dealer.
RICKABY, C., Great Suffolk-street; Southwark, cheesemonger.
ROGERS, W., Leamington-Priors, Warwickshire, victualler.
TAYLOR, R., Bristol, builder.
WISWOULD, L., and W. Duncan, Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, carriers.
WISWOULD, L., Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, gun-maker.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, MAY 9.—Our supplies, since this day se'nnight, of English wheat, barley, pulse, and English and foreign seeds, have been very limited; of foreign wheat great; of foreign barley, English, Irish, and foreign oats, English malt, and English, Irish, and foreign flour, good. This day's market was rather thinly attended both by London and country buyers, particularly the latter. Beans, and very fine malting barley, fully supported last week's prices; but the trade was, otherwise, exceedingly

dull. With wheat, inferior barley, and peas at a depression of full 2*s.*; oats about 1*s.* per quarter. In the nominal currency of malt, flour, or seeds, no alteration has taken place, except in rapeseed, which is quoted considerably lower than on this day se'nnight; but the prevailing opinion is, that if extensive sales could be effected, a considerable abatement would, in each of these articles, be submitted to.

Wheat	60s. to 68s.
Rye	38s. to 42s.
Barley	26s. to 32s.
—— fine	32s. to 44s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
—— Boilers	35s. to 40s.
—— Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Small	40s. to 48s.
—— Tick	36s. to 40s.
Oats, Potatoe	27s. to 33s.
—— Poland	27s. to 31s.
—— Feed	23s. to 28s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new	44s. to 45s. per cwt.
—— Sides, new	42s. to 44s.
Pork, India, new	122s. 0d. to 125s. 0d.
Pork, Mess, new	63s. to 65s. 0d. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	76s. to 86s. per cwt.
—— Carlow	78s. to 86s.
—— Cork	80s. to 86s.
—— Limerick	84s. to 86s.
—— Waterford	74s. to 78s.
—— Dublin	78s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire	56s. to 80s.
—— Gloucester, Double	54s. to 64s.
—— Gloucester, Single	38s. to 42s.
—— Edam	46s. to 50s.
—— Gouda	44s. to 48s.
Hams, Irish	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD—May 9.

This day's supply of beasts, sheep, and lambs, was limited; of calves and porkers tolerably good. Each kind of meat met with a brisk sale; mutton at an advance of about 2*d.* per stone; beef, lamb, and pork, at fully —veal at barely—Friday's quotations. Beasts, 2,256; sheep, 16,330; calves, 138; pigs, 140.

THE FUNDS.

	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	80⅛	81⅛	81	82⅛	82⅛	82⅛

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 15.

The supplies are large this week. The best samples maintain Monday's prices, all other sorts are lower.

POPULAR SCIENCE.

This day, with Engravings, price 5s.,

ARCANA OF SCIENCE, and ANNUAL REGISTER of the USEFUL ARTS, for 1831.

"The *Arcana of Art and Science* is the fourth volume of a little work of the most useful and entertaining description. Every description of discovery, invention, experiment, receipt, observation, or memorandum of a remarkable occurrence in nature or art during the year, is here recorded, briefly, but clearly. It, in fact, is the very essence or extract of the scientific pursuits of the whole world for one year. All this is to be had for five shillings."—*Spectator, April* 23.

Printed for JOHN LIMBIRD, 143, Strand. Of whom may be had the volumes for the three preceding years.

FOR ALL FAMILIES.

Just Published, Price 5s., cloth,

FAMILY MANUAL AND SERVANT'S GUIDE,

With upwards of One Thousand New and Approved Receipts,, arranged and adapted for Families and all Classes of Servants.

"We shall recommend this book every where, if it were only for the sake of the excellent suggestions on the 'self-improvement' of house servants."—*Gardener's Magazine, June*, 1830.

"It should find a place in the kitchen or servants'-hall of those who desire to blend comfort with elegance, and prudence with luxury."—*New Monthly Magazine, Feb.* 1831.

"This book contains a mass of information that cannot fail to be useful in the conduct of household affairs."—*Atlas, May* 22.

"No Servant should be without it."—*Morning Advertiser, April* 27.

J. LIMBIRD, 143, Strand, London, and all Booksellers.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors and Drapers, No. 93, Fleet-street; beg to inform the public that, *as they manufacture the whole of their Woollen goods*, they make

A Saxony Cloth Coat for	2	12	6
Ditto, Kerseymere Trowsers	1	5	6
Ditto, ditto, Waistcoat	0	12	0
Being, *for a whole Suit*, only	4	10	0
Petersham Beaver Great Coats	2	15	0
Talma Cloaks of Superfine Cloth	3	0	0
A Suit of Livery	4	0	0

And every other article in the trade proportionably cheap!

Observe that their shop is 93, Fleet-street.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.